بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

INTRODUCTION

I. THE AUTHOR

However sad it may seem it is but a fact that the man who laboured and toiled the whole of his life to keep fresh and alive the memories of others himself fell prey to oblivion, and the dust of time concealed his worthy name. It was due to this lack of information about Muḥammad Ṣādiq Dihlawī Kashmīrī Hamadānī, hereafter referred to as Ṣādiq Hamadānī, author of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī*, that scholars as distinguished as Professor Dowson faltered, and confused him with Ṣādiq Khān, author of the *Shāhjahān-Nāma.*[1] This last, however, an *Amīr* of the imperial court,[2] does not have anything in common, save a name of frequent occurrence, with our author, a man in humble circumstances, devoted to academic endeavours and mystical pursuits.

Ṣādiq Hamadānī did not bequeath any consistent account of his life nor did any subsequent biography notice him though some stray references to his name, which until now have remained unidentified, did appear in some contemporary works.[3] The biographical sketch that

1. H.M. Elliot, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, ed. Professor John Dowson, Indian repr. (Allahabad 1964), Vol. VII, p. 133. The same mistake has been committed by other authors also, e.g., see Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shāhjahān of Dihlī* (Allahabad 1958), Introduction, p. xvii, and M.L. Rahman, *Persian Literature in India During the Time of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān* (Baroda 1970), p. 169.
2. He held the *Manṣab* of Six Thousand, under Shāhjahān. See his *Shāhjahān-nāma*, British Museum MS. Or. 1671, f. 150b. For his other activities under Shāhjahān, see Saksena, *op.cit.*, pp. 45, 58, 65, 213.
3. Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Pākistānī repr. (Karachi 1972), Vol. I, *Maktūb* 106, 107, Vol. II, *Maktūb* 22,28, Vol. III, *Maktūb* 39; Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī, *Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, Persian text (Lahore 1971), pp. 218-219; and the *Risāla dar Ḥāl-i Wafāt-i Ḥaḍrat Shaykh al-Muḥaddithīn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq bin Sayf al-Dīn Dihlawī al-Bukhārī*, in the possession (1970) of the late Mr. Salīm al-Haqq Ḥaqqī of Model Town, Lahore.

follows has been reconstructed with the aid of the stray, internal evidences of Ṣādiq Hamadānī's own works. Wherever necessary and possible, they have been supplemented with the help of other sources too, so as to give a fair idea about the man and his environs.

II. HIS FAMILY BACKGROUND

Ṣādiq Hamadānī's family originally belonged to Hamadan.* Sometime during the 8th/14th century one of his ancestors came to Kashmir in the company of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī. The Mīr ultimately left for Transoxiana,[4] but the progenitor of our author appears to have stayed back in the valley. What befell this family of emigrants during the next one and a half centuries or so is shrouded in mystery. This much is however clear that their main calling and source of income was trade and their activities in this regard extended from Kashmir to areas as far as Delhi. The maternal grandfather of Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad Hamadānī, initially found his way to Delhi as a trader[5] and finally permanently settled there.

According to another account, also given by Ṣādiq Hamadānī,[6] on the basis of a statement ascribed to Maulānā Kamāl Kashmīrī Siyālkōtī,[7] Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad Hamadānī, Maulānā Kamāl Kashmīrī and another student used to study ratiocinative sciences at the feet of a distinguished scholar in Kashmir. When that scholar died, and Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad and his companions failed to find any other learned man in the vicinity under whom they could resume their studies, they decided to continue their efforts by themselves. Periodically they got together and discussed their problems. Gradually these gatherings lost

* Ancient city in central Iran, situated south of Mount Alwand; birthplace of brilliant luminaries, such as Avicenna (physician an philosopher), Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān (poet), Badī' luminaries, such as Avicenna (physician an philosopher), Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān (poet), Badī' al-Zamān (litteratuer), Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Ṭabīb (physician, historian and administrator), and Ibn al-Faqīh (jurist). Also see *E.I.*, *s.v.*

4. He died on his way to Transoxiana, in 786/1385 and his body was carried to Khattalan. See Maulānā 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Aḥmad Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, Persian text, ed. Mahdī Tauḥīdīpūr (Tehran n.d.), pp. 447-48.
5. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text. p. 159.
6. *Ibid.*
7. He was a celebrated scholar of his times. He started his spiritual training under his father-in-law, Mullā Fatḥ Allāh and later continued it under the care of Khawāja 'Abd al-Shahīd Naqshbandī Aḥrarī. He taught at Lahore and Sialkot. Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī and Mullā 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkōtī were two of his most prominent upils. He died at Lahore in 1017/1608-09. (Khwāja Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, *Ta'rīkh-i Kashmīr-i A'ẓamī*, Lahore 1303 A.H.). References to him are also seen in Muḥammad Hāshim Kishmī, *Zubdat al-Maqāmat* (Kanpur 1890), p. 128 and Muḥammad Amīn Qazwīnī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, British Museum MS. Or. 173, f. 425*b*.

their original charm and became rather monotonous. Thus Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad and Maulānā Kamāl set out for India, via Sialkot. At Sialkot, Maulānā Kamāl Kashmīrī liked the place and settled there. Maulānā Ḥajjī Muḥammad, however, continued his journey and around 963/1555-56,[8] reached Delhi, where he busied himself in the acquisition of knowledge. After the completion of his studies he got employment as a teacher in the *Madrasa-i Dihlī* and before long established himself as an eminent scholar in sciences as varied as grammar, syntax, logic, rhetoric, prosody, rhyme, jurisprudence, tradition, exegesis, mathematics and medicine.[9] Ṣādiq Hamadānī writes:

> Despite all erudition and insight that God had bestowed upon him [Ḥājjī Muḥammad], annihilation, lowliness, harmlessness, modesty, humility, courtesy, decorum, awe of God, asceticism, abstinence, patience, trust in God, contentment, quietism and resignation, virtues that *Ṣūfīs* acquire after a good deal of spiritual struggle, were an indispensable ingredient of his sublime nature and pious disposition. In short, he was a sign from amongst the signs of God, and constitued one ofthe manifestations of Divine mercy. Although the favourites of the then Emperor [Akbar] tried their utmost to allure that unique of the universe through the vanities of the world and thus use him for their own ends, their efforts did not produce any result. Similarly, some of the officers stationed at Delhi thought of invoking the imperial mandate for his appointment as the *Qāḍī* of Delhi, but he spurned that offer too. He did not budge an inch from his corner of spiritual poverty *(Faqr)* and indifference towards the worldly objects, nor did he go after dignity and wealth, desire of which is ingrained in human nature. When he passed sixty years of his age, and his incandescent disposition became afflicted with fever, he very emphatically advised for the preparation of his obsequies, and said that as most of his ancestors passed away at that age it was probable that his life might also have reached its end. He also remarked that he would be ashamed if he outlived the years of the life of the Chief of the Messengers. Peace be upon him! But as the Divine Will had ordained that the seekers of knowledge should continue to benefit from his erudition and attainments he recovered from that disease. He passed away from this dark and transient abode to the eternal world at the age

8. The date has been obtained by subtracting 33, the age at which he arrived in Delhi *(Kalimāt,* Persian Text, p. 159) from his total age, 76, at the time of his death in 1006/1597 *(Kalimāt,* Persian Text, p. 161) and then subtracting the difference from the latter.
9. Besides Mīrzā Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad who, writing in 1001/1592, remarks: "Mullā Ḥājī Kashmīrī is now engagged in teaching in Delhi and knows ractiocinative and traditional sciences" *(The Tabakat-i Akbari,* Eng. tr. B. De, Vol. II, p. 692), no other contemporary chronicler appears to have recorded Mullā Ḥājjī's name. As such, our only source of reliable and relatively detailed information about him is his grandson, Ṣādiq Hamadānī. Later hagiographers (e.g., Maulawī Raḥmān 'Alī, *Tadhkira-i 'Ulamā'-i Hind* (Lucknow 1914, p. 46) have also based their accounts on his work.

of 76, on Thursday, the 19th of Ṣafar in the year 1006 [30th October 1597].[10]

His son, Maulānā Ḥasan, composed the following chronogram on this occasion:[11]

نوزده از ماه صفر رفته بود کین فلک گشته بزیر و زبر
زیر و زبر کرد حیات مرا همچو حیات سمک اندر حجر
وز سر من برد ولی نعمتی کز غم او مشتعلم گشت سر
پیر خرد را دل و جان زین خبر خون شد بنوشت بخون جگر
سال و مه و روز ازین واقعه نوزدهم بود ز شهر صفر

Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī was the maternal uncle of Ṣādiq Hamadānī.[12] Although Ṣādiq Hamadānī does not mention it specifically, his respectful references to him as "my master" and "my benefactor" *(Makhdūmī walī al-ni'amī)*,[13] suggest that he must have been closely associated with the latter's upbringing and education. As for himself, as early as 1001/1592-93, Maulānā Hasan had made himself known as a talented young scholar, which is apparent from the fact that our earliest information about him comes from no less an authority than Shaykh

10. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 161. According to some authorities (e.g., 'Allāma 'Abd al-Ḥayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir wa Bahjat al-Masām' wa'l-Nawāẓir*, Hyderabad Deccan, 1976, 3rd Edition, Vol. V, p. 127; Ẓahūr al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Pakistān mein Fārsī Adab*, Lahore, n.d., Vol. I, p. 546), Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad travelled to Delhi in pursuit of knowledge, benefited from the spiritualism of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh and returned to Kashmīr to take up the profession of teaching and finally died there in 1006/1597.
    As is abundantly clear from the foregoing account of Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad Kashmīrī – based on the information gleaned from the writings of his grandson, Ṣādiq Hamadānī – the Maulānā arrived in Delhi at the age of 33 and after the completion of his education, started his career as a teacher at Madrasa-i Dihlī. This position he continued to occupy until his death in 1006/1597, that is, until two years before the very arrival of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī in Delhi. Even otherwise, too, Ṣādiq Hamadānī does not refer to his association with the Naqshbandiyya order.
    As for the burial place of the Maulānā, the very inclusion of his notice in the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* is proof enough of the fact that he was buried at Delhi. Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad's works include: *Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Nabī lil-Tirmidhī, Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān, Sharḥ 'Aqā'id al-'Aḍuddiyya, Sharḥ al-Mujarrid, Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-Sharī'at fī Madhhab Imām al-Shāfi'ī, Sharḥ Mashāriq al-Anwār, Khulāṣa Kitāb al-Auḍāḥ fī Bayān Madhāhib al-Arba'a, Qayd al-Kutub al-Thulātha ilā Kitāb al-Bayū', Kitāb Khulāṣa lijamā' fī Jamī' al-Aḥādīth, Muntakhab Sharḥ al-Aurād al-Fatḥiyya, Sharḥ al-Aurād al-'Aṣriyya, Kitāb Mu'jizāt al-Nabī, Risāla Dhikr bi-Jahr, Risālat al-Ism A'ẓam, Sharḥ Ḥisn Ḥaṣīn, Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. See Ẓahūr al-Dīn Aḥmad, *op.cit.*, p. 547.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 136; *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 418.
13. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text p. 161.

'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. In the course of a biographical notice of one of his contemporary ascetics, Maulānā Muḥammad Baḥthī,[14] while reproducing the following chronogram,

فات فی السبت شیخنا بحتی   که نبودش نظیر بیشک و ریب
سال تاریخ آن ملک سیرت   فات بحتی ندا رسید ز غیب

the Shaykh remarks that it was composed by a young man called Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī who is known for his learning, discipline, pleasant manners, popularity among the people and devotion to the dervishes.[15]

Maulānā Ḥasan completed the study of traditional theological sciences under the supervision of Maulānā Muḥammad Yazdī, who was an outstanding scholar of his day and subsequently, during the reign of Akbar, rose to the position of the Qāḍī of Delhi.[16] Maulānā Ḥasan was given to ascetic austerities from an early age, and he obtained the formal training in mysticism from Shaykh Chā'īn Ladda, generally called Najm al-Ḥaqq,[17] who was an eminent *Khalīfa* and successor of Shaykh 'Abd

14. Initially, he led a very unrestrained and inconsiderate life, but later on he turned to mysticism, performed arduous spiritual exercises and continually fasted for thirty years. Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Azīz, the foster brother of the Emperor Akbar, built him a *Khānqāh* near the tomb of Khwāja Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'. Maulānā Muḥammad Baḥthī spent his time in that *Khānqāh* and when he died, in 1001/1592-93, was buried there. *A.A.*, p. 279.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī was a Shī'ī theologian who arrived in India, sometine in 983/1575-76. Although he could not convert the Emperor to Shī'ism despite his best efforts, in religious discussion with Abū al-Faḍl, he was the only one, with the exception of his compatriot, Ḥakīm Abū al-Fatḥ, who could keep pace with that wizard. In the wake of the *Maḥḍar*, in 987/1579, he was appointed the *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt* of Jaunpur. Reaching there he issued a *Fatwā*, a formal religious decree, to the effect that rebellion against Akbar, as an enemy of Islam, was lawful. He was summoned to the Court and on his way thither was got rid of, by being drowned in the river Jamna. *M.T.*, Vol. II, pp. 211, 259, 276-77; also see Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign* (Delhi 1975), pp. 286-87.
17. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 418*b*. He was a distinguished Chishtī saint of his time. When Akbar established the *'Ibādat-Khāna* and instituted debates on different religious matters, he was also summoned to the Court. The Emperor, who entertained great regard for the Shaykh, appointed quarters for him in the *'Ibādat-Khāna*, near the imperial place and used to admit him to private interviews at night. The Shaykh's inverted prayers *(Namāz-i ma'kūs)*, however, did not produce a favourable impression on the Emperor. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Badāonī, *op.cit.*, Eng. Tr. and ed. Sir Wolseley Haig, Indian repr. (Patna 1973), Vol. III, pp. 163-64. Also see *A.A.*, p. 275; *G.A.*, F. 209*b*., *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 261.

al-'Azīz Jaunpūrī,[18] and lived at a place called Suhna, a town in the District and Taḥsīl of Gurgā'on, Panjab.[19] Shaykh Chā'īn Ladda died in 998/1589-90. Maulānā Ḥasan composed a long chronogram on this occasion.[20]

In 1008/1599-1600 when Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llāh arrived in Delhi, Maulānā Ḥasan felt strongly drawn towards him, so much so that in the same year when one of his friends, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, came to Delhi on his way to the Ḥijāz, he attracted him too, to the company of the Khwāja.[21] Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, who subsequently emerged as one of the leading lights of the Naqshbandīyya order in India, always felt indebted to Maulānā Ḥasan for this favour.[22]

Maulānā Ḥasan's relations with the Khwāja were of a devoted associate rather than those of a simple disciple.[23] The Khwāja also had a very affectionate attitude towards him. On the death of the Khwāja, Maulānā Ḥasan composed the following chronogram:[24]

18. Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz bin Ḥasan Ṭāhir was a distinguished *Khalīfa* of Miyān Qāḍī Khān Nāṣiḥī Ẓafarābādī. He was born in Jaunpur, in 898/1492-93, and came to Delhi with his father at the age of one and a half years, and remained there until his death in 975/1567-68. He was very fond of *Samā'* and, according to Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī: 'the spiritual life of Delhi revolved around him" *(A.A.,* pp. 275-76). The Shaykh appears to have been extremely popular among his contemporaries. Abū al-Faḍl has included him among the learned men of his time who understood the mysteries of both worlds (*Khadīw-i nashatayn*) (*The Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. H. Blochmann, Indian repr. (Delhi 1965), Vol. I, p. 607; Persian text, Vol. I, p. 166). Badāyūnī frequented his assemblies (*M.T.*, Vol. II, p. 50) and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq composed the following *mnemosynon* on his death:

شیخ کامل عارف دوران خود عبدالعزیز
آنکه می داد اهل دل را مجلسش یاد از بهشت
هر چه اند اوصاف اهل الله در عالم بود
حق تعالی از اول فطرت بذات او سرشت
یادگار اهل چشت او بود در دوران خود
گشت ازان تاریخ فوتش : یادگار اهل چشت

(*A.A.*, p. 275). For notices of his life, also see *G.A.*, f. 199*b*., *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 135-40, *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 245.

19. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New series, Vol. XIII, p. 72.
20. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 136-37.
21. *Zubdat al-Maqāmāt*, p. 138. Cf. *Ḥaḍarāt*, Persian Text, p. 262.
22. *Zubdat*, p. 138, *Maktūb*, 99, 100, 101, and 279, in Vol. I, and *Maktūb* 122, in Vol. III of the *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, are addressed to Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī Dihlawī Hamadānī. In *Maktūb* 279 of Vol. I and *Maktūb* 122 of Vol. III, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī expresses his gratitude to the Maulānā for leading him to the company of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llāh.
23. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 418*b*.; also see *Biography of Muḥammad al-Bāqī*, MS., D.P. 1158c, 67*b*.
24. *Biography*, f. 267*b*.

قبلهٔ اهل سعادت خواجه باقی آنکه بود
خاکروب آستانش اهل قال و اهل حال
همچو خورشید حقیقت نور فیض اقدسی
مشرق و مغرب گرفته چون جنوب و چون شمال
مدتی حق تجلی جمالی کرده بود
حالیا بر بندگان دارد تجلی جلال
حیف کان قطب زمان بعد از چهل سال تمام
چون مسیحا کرد از داری بداری انتقال
یا دلش فارغ شد از ارشاد ابناء زمان
یا گرفت آئینه اش از خاکیان گرد ملال
یا بتکمیل ملائک رفت سوی آسمان
تا مشرف سازد آنجاهم زهی صاحب کمال
یا نه اینست و نه آن ، وز شوق آن خلوت نشین
کرد قصد وصل بعد از اربعین بی انفصال
از کمال عشق واصل گشت با محبوب خویش
عاشق کامل محبت شد از آن سال وصال

Another of Maulānā Ḥasan's contemporaries mentioned by Ṣādiq Hamadānī was Shaykh 'Alī Aḥmad, son of Shaykh Ḥusayn Naqshī, an excellent seal engraver.[25] He was always engrossed in the tumult of Divine love and the radiance of gentle passion. He died in the course of an ecstasy brought on by hearing the following couplet:

هر قوم راست راهی ، دینی و قبله گاهی
من قبله راست کردم بر سمت کج کلاهی

Jahāngīr, who witnessed the whole scene describes it, in the *Tūzuk*, in these words:

> On the night of he 12th [Muḥarram, 1018/17th April, 1609] an uncommon and strange event took place. Some Delhi singers *(Qawwālān*, see Jarrett,

25. According to Abū al-Faḍl, Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Delhi, had no equal in the art of engraving, in any country. He held the rank of *Yūzbāshī*. *Aḥadīs* of distinction were promoted to his rank. See *Ā'īn-i Ak.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 22; see also *Ibid.*, p. 55.

ii, 236) were singing songs in my presence, and Sayyidī Shāh was, by way of buffoonery, mimicking a religious dance. This verse of Amīr Khusrau was the refrain *(miyān-khāna)* of the song –

Each nation has its right road of faith and its shrine *(qibla-gāhī)*.
I've set up my shrine *(qibla)* on the path of the path of him with the cocked cap.

I asked what was the real meaning of the (last) hemistich. Mullā 'Alī Aḥmad, the seal engraver, who had the title of Khalīfa, and was an old servant, and with whose father I had learned when I was little, came forward and said, "I have heard from my father that one day Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā had put his cap on the side of his head, and was sitting on a terraced roof by the bank of the Jumna and watching the devotions of the Hindus. Just then Amīr Khusrau appeared, and the Shaikh turned to him and said, 'Do you see this crowd', and then he recited this line:

'Each race has its right road of faith and its shrine' *(qibla-gāhī)*.

The Amīr, without hesitating, respectfully did homage to the Shaikh, and addressing him said –

'I've set up my shrine in the direction of him with cocked cap'."[26]

The aforesaid Mullā, when these words were uttered, and the last words of the second hemistich passed over his tongue, became senseless and fell down. Conceiving a great fear from his falling down, I went to his head. Most of those who were present doubted whether he had not had an epileptic fit. The physicians who were present distractedly made inquiry and felt his pulse and brought medicine. However much they beat their hands and feet and exerted themselves, he had delivered his soul to the Creator. As his body was quite warm, they thought that possibly some life might be left in him. After a short time it became evident that the thing was all over and he was dead.[27] They carried him away dead to his own house. I had never seen this kind of death, and sent money to his sons for his shroud and burial, and the next morning they sent him to Delhi and buried him in the burial-place of his ancestors.[28]

26. The account of Mullā 'Alī Aḥmad is also corroborated by Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangōhī. See his *Anwār al-'Uyūn fī Asrār il-Maknūn*, Urdū tr. ['Azīz Aḥmad Aḥmadī] (Azamgarh [1928], p. 1. Cf. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 144-45.
27. According to the eye-witness account of Jahāngīr, the Mullā died on 12th [Muḥarram 1018], whereas Ṣādiq Hamadānī mentions 18th Muḥarram 1018 as the date of his death (*Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 145), which is incorrect.
28. *The Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Eng. tr., Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, second edition (Delhi 1968), pp. 169-70. The editor's notes have been omitted; *Toozuk-i Jehangeeree (Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī)*, Persian Text, ed. Syed Ahmud (Ghazipur and Aligarh 1863-64).

Shaykh 'Alī Aḥmad was a man of many parts. He was deeply read in astronomy and natural philosophy and was an ardent seeker after knowledge. He was marvellously proficient in all scripts, and in prose composition and orthography he was unrivalled.[29] His axiomatic virtues had attracted him many friends which included Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badāyūnī, Shaykh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī[30] and Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī. The latter, who appears to have been deeply moved by his instantaneous death, composed a very thoughtful chronogram on this occasion.[31]

Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī was an accomplished poet. His verses had a vein of mysticism which was expressed with excellence and grace. Following of his quatrains have been reproduced by Ṣādiq Hamadānī in the *Ṭabaqāt*:[32]

تا دامن معرفت بدست آوردم
در شیشهٔ عجب صد شکست آوردم
چون دانستم که جمله زو بلکه هموست
ایمان بسجود هر چه هست آوردم

❋

هر ذره که در جهان بعنوانی هست
بر خوبی او نوشته برهانی هست
زنهار بچشم کج نه بینی ز نهار
کین سلسله را سلسله جنبانی هست

❋

با بغض نبی رحمت رحمان چه کند ؟
با جان پر از نفاق ایمان چه کند
هرگز نشود بسعی کس ناکس کس
انگاره چو بد فتاد سوهان چه کند

29. *M.T.*, Vol. III, pp. 349-50; Eng. tr. pp. 480-81. Badāyūnī who has bestowed very lavish encomiums on the Mullā, writes: "I have been bound to him, to a greater degree than can be imagined, by the bonds of intimacy, confidence, friendship and companionship, . . ." (*Ibid.*)
30. Badāyūnī has also reproduced a letter of Mullā 'Alī Aḥmad to the address of Shaykh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī, soliciting the latter's benedictions for the attainment of happiness and welfare in this world and hereafter. (*Ibid.*, Persian Text, pp. 358-60; Eng. tr., pp. 491-93).
31. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 145.
32. Ff. 418*b*-419.

گر در ره عشــق چهــره بر گرد نه ای
بیــگــانــهٔ دوا و آشــنــای درد نه ای
گیــرم گرو از رســتــم دسـتـان بردی
در معــرکــهٔ جــاد ما مرد نه ای

Maulānā Ḥasan appears to have lived a very long life. He was over fifty[33] in 1018/1609, and, at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* in 1048/1638-39, he was still alive and at the peak of his scholarly glory which is borne out by the following verses which were composed, in his praise, by one of his 'distinguished contemporaries':[34]

گوش دار اینجا یکی رنگین سخن　　از وحید الدهر مخدومی حسن
آن حسن نی کاندرین دارالفنا　　بود در عهد نظام الاولیا
آن حسن کامروز با صد آب و تاب　　روز و شب تابان بود چون آفتاب
حسن معنی را جمال معنوی　　از کمالاتش کمال معنوی
شرح علم و حلم آن والا سروش　　می نگنجد در ضمیر عقل و هوش

Mullā Ilahdād Dihlawī:

Maulānā Ḥasan's brother, Mullā Ilahdād Dihlawī Kashmīrī Hamadānī, was also a pre-eminent scholar. His accomplishments were mainly in the field of mathematics and astrology. Nevertheless, he lived a life of dervishes.[35]

Abū al-Ḥasan Dānā:

Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī's elder son named Abū al-Ḥasan Dānā was a born poet, and poetry remained his passion throughout his life. He died at the age of 27, in 1038/1628-29. "Had he lived longer", remarks Ṣādiq Hamadānī, "he would have done miracles in the field of poetry". These verses belong to him:[36]

33. See the first couplet of the *mnemosynon* which he recited at the death of Mullā 'Alī Aḥmad, in the *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 145.
34. *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 418-418*b*.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 377*b*.
36. *Ibid.*, ff. 431*b*-431.

تا بر لبم چو غنچهٔ خندان سخن شکفت
تحسین کلیم را ز زبان بردهن شکفت
اگر نزد صفا کیشان بخواهی رتبهٔ علیا
تنزل کن تنزل کن تنزل می کند کاری
می وصل ارنباشد نشئهٔ پیغام هم کافیست
که مخمور طرب را بانگ قلقل می کند کاری

The following quatrain was composed by him at a very early age:

تا بر دل ریش ریش ریشی نزدی   بر قامت چون کمان سریشی نزدی
ای پیر فلک جوان بمیری که مرا   نوشی نچشانده ای که نیشی نزدی

Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on his death:[37]

دارم ز جور گردون وز گردش زمانه
بر سینه صد جراحت در دل هزار مشکل
گر باورت نیاید این حرف درد پرور
چشمی گشای و بنگر این داغ تازه بر دل
از پیش دیدهٔ من بگذشت ابوالحسن هم
آن فاضل یگانه و آن مستعد کامل
تاریخ فوت او را از پیر عقل جستم
در گریه رفت و گفتا : های آن جوان فاضل

Besides two sons and one grandson of Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad, Ṣādiq Hamadānī has, besides himself, noticed three other offspring of the Maulānā's daughters. They are Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Khayālī, Mullā Ḥaydar Dihlawī and Mullā Muḥammad Yūsuf Kashmīrī.

Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Khayālī:

The grandson of Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad Hamadānī, Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Khayālī, was a paragon of virtues. His erudition and poetry

37. *Ibid.*, f. 431*b*.

were widely respected. In astrology, mathematics and *Jafr*[38] his knowledge was excellent. By nature he was extremely calm, composed and self-possessed. He never bowed down his head before worldly people. His poetry, according to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, beamed with exuberance and vigour of style. "As a poet he compared with Anwarī, with the only difference that Anwarī spent his whole life-span in the flattery of others, while he did not."[39] Some of his verses are given below:

عمر عزیزما همه در تیرگی گذشت　　در شب نوشته اند مگر سر نوشت ما

*

بعشوه کشتی و بازم بغمزه جان دادی

گر از خدای نترسم ، ترا خدا گویم

*

با دو چشم خون فشان تیری ندارم از نگاه

وه چه بودستی مرا گردیده سر تا پا ستی

*

آنم که بوادی معانی بازم　　در صید سخن ز دیگران ممتازم

بر مدعیان گواه فضل و هنرم　　این بس که سمی حافظ شیرازم

Mullā Ḥaydar Dihlawī:

This cousin of Ṣādiq Hamadānī was a prodigy. He memorized the Qur'ān by heart and completed his education at a very early age.[40]

Mullā Muḥammad Yūsuf Kashmīrī:

He was a brother of Ṣādiq Hamadānī. In poetry and *belles-lettres* he was quite excellent; his panegyrics were particularly remarkable. He was employed in the imperial army. He died in 1033/1623-24. The following verses belong to him:[41]

38. The art of divining from letters of the Arabic alphabet with the help of their numerical values.
39. *Tabaqāt*, f. 429.
40. *Ibid.*, ff. 421-421*b*.
41. *Ibid.*, ff. 392-392*b*.

عیاشی ما منتظر نغمه و نی نیست
مشتاق ترا نعره باندازهٔ می نیست
یک نشئهٔ وارستگی عاشق جانباز
در حوصلهٔ همت صد حاتم طی نیست

شب نیست که در بزم غمت شیشهٔ دل را
صد قهقهه بر جام جم و مجلس کی نیست
حاجی سر خود گیر و ره کعبه بدست آر
در وادی ما پای ترا قوت طی نیست
در بیضهٔ غم یوسفیا جوجهٔ شادی است
شامی نرسیده است که صبحیش زپی نیست

*

هم از دل صبر و هم دل از من دیوانه می دزدد
عجب دزدی که رخت خانه را با خانه می دزدد

III. HIS TEACHERS

(i) Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī

First and foremost among the teachers of Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, occupies a very prominent position in the religious and cultural annals of Muslim India and Pakistan. He was born in Muḥarram 958/January-February 1551[42] at Delhi, into a very distinguished and well known Turkic family,[43] which had migrated to India in the wake of the Mongol inroads into Transoxiana. His forefathers associated with kings and sultans and held key positions in contemporary governments. But his father, Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn, although a renowned saint and scholar,[44] had no association with the ruling hier-

42. Munshī Barakat 'Alī, *Mir'at al-Ḥaqā'iq* (Rampur 1323 A.H.), p. 13; Sayyid Aḥmad Qādirī, *Tadhkira-i Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī* (Patna 1370 A.H.), 20; Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, *Ḥayāt-i Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī* (Delhi 1953), p. 73; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, (Lucknow 1965), p. 1533.
43. Āghā Muḥammad Turk al-Bukhārī (d. 739/1338) was the first of Shaykh's ancestors who migrated to India, with his family and followers, during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī (695-715/1296-1316), and was deputed to the Gujarat expedition (*A.A.*, p. 289), which took place in 698/1298. (Amīr Khusrau Dihlawī, *Khazā'in al-Futūḥ*, ed. Mohammad Wahid Mirza (Calcutta 1953), p. 53. Cf. Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 103.
44. For notices of his life see *A.A.*, pp. 235-41, 291-300; *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 145-8.

archy and was content with his meagre means. His sole concern was the proper upbringing and education[45] of his brilliant son and successor, in whom he had great expectations.[46] As such, by the time Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq had reached the age of majority, he had completed his education and later, in a few years' time, asserted himself as a scholar.[47] In 985/1577 at the instance of his father[48] he was initiated into the discipleship of Shaykh Mūsā Qādirī Gīlānī,[49] a descendant of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, the founder of the Qādirīyya order of mystics. Sometime after the death of his father in 990/1582[50] he, like many other contemporary scholars, made his way to the court of Akbar, which was considered to be a great centre of learning. The presence of innumerable celebrated scholars at one place and at one time inspired a great deal of competition and offered them an enviable opportunity to match and measure their skills and talents with one another. The magnanimity and munificence of the Emperor, and the deep interest he evinced in various sciences, were yet other factors that contributed to the attraction to his court of men of letters of all castes and creeds and from every nook and corner of his own empire and of neighbouring countries. At the court, the Shaykh's talents did not go undetected and honours were lavished upon him.[51]

How long he stayed at Fatḥpur is a matter of conjecture. This much is, however, known: that during his stay there he spent quite some time in the company of his old friends,[52] Shaykh Fayḍī Fayyāḍī, the imperial

45. *A.A.*, p. 301.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 301-302.
48. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith, *Risāla-i Waṣiyyat* quoted in Munshī Barakat 'Alī, *op.cit.*, p. 32 *Akbar al-Akhyār* MS. scribed in Muḥarram, 24th regnal year of Aurangzīb (1092-1681), in Maulawī Muḥammad Shafī's private collection of MSS., Lahore, pp. 404-405.
49. Yusuf Hussain writes: 'Sheikh 'Abdul Haq Mohaddis, who had previously accepted the discipleship of Sheikh 'Alī Muttaqī at Mecca, became a follower of Sheikh Mūsā Gīlānī ..." *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture* (Delhi 1957), p. 54. This is not correct because firstly, Shaykh 'Alī Muttaqī died in 975/1567 (Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Sulūk-i Ṭarīq il-Yaqīn*, BM. MS. Or. 217, f. 43), when Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī was 17 years old and was still busy in the acquisition of knowledge at Delhi. Secondly, it was Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī's preceptor, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Muttaqī, who was the disciple of Shaykh 'Alī Muttaqī and not Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq himself. Thirdly, it was before proceeding for *Ḥajj* (pilgrimage) that the Shaykh received the Qadiri ordination from Shaykh Mūsā Qādirī and not after his return from the Hijaz. See *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, ff. 106-135 b. *A.A.*, pp. 249-51, 305-307.
50. *A.A.*, p. 300.
51. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Irsāl al-Makātīb w-al-Rasā'il ilā Arbāb il-Kamāl w-al-Faḍā'il*, MS. in the late 'Allāma S.V.H. 'Ābidī 's private collection of MSS., Lahore, p. 286.
52. *M.T.*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 167.

poet-laureate, and Mirzā Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, an influential grandee and author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, and also came into contact with Mullā ʻAbd al-Qādir Badāyūnī, author of the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* and the *Najāt al-Rashīd*.[53] Nevertheless, as soon as he realized that the progressive elements at the court wanted to exploit his piety and good name for their own ends and make him a source of strength and solidarity for themselves, he was disillusioned.[54]

In 995/1586-87, the Shaykh developed a very strong desire to visit the Hijaz[55] and so, without making any elaborate preparations, he set out on the journey, via Malwa. By the time he arrived in Gujarāt, the sailing season was already over and he had to wait for the next one. Thanks to the assistance and good offices of Mirzā Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, however, he succeeded in obtaining a passage, during the next sailing season, on a ship bound for the Hijaz.[56] Reaching Hijaz, without any further loss of time, the Shaykh found access to the gatherings of the learned, and busied himself heart and soul in the acquisition of various religious sciences, particularly that of *Ḥadīth*.[57] Soon he came into contact with Shaykh ʻAbd al-Wahhāb Muttaqī[58] and was so dazzled by his erudition and insight that he spontaneously became his disciple[59] and for about two years, day and night, remained in his service and benefited from his spiritual and scholarly guidance until at last, sometime in 999/1590-91, he was directed by his preceptor to leave for India.[60] The Shaykh arrived back in India in 1000/1591-92,[61] better qualified and equipped, and thus fully prepared to meet any challenge that the future might throw before him. Back in Delhi, the Shaykh started *ab initio* his academic activities and submerged himself in the task of eradicating the innovations that had crept into Islam through the lack of traditional

53. *Ibid.*
54. *Irsāl al-Makātīb*, MS., p. 286; *M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 113, Eng. tr. p. 167. Mohammad Shafi writes about Shaykh ʻAbd al-Ḥaqq that "he spent sometime in Fatḥpūr, studying with Fayḍī and Mirzā Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, but fell out with them". See his article "Abd al-Ḥakk b. Sayf al-Dīn al-Dihlawī, Abū al-Madjd", in *E.I.* The statement is not substantiated by any historical evidence. Moreover, the very fact that the Shaykh stayed for almost one year with Mirzā Niẓām al-Dīn, while he was waiting for the sailing season to come, and ultimately left for the Hijaz with the help and assistance of teh Mirzā, invalidates its authenticity, at least as far as the Mirzā is concerned. See *M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 113, Eng. tr., p. 168; *G.A.*, f. 372b.
55. *Akhbar al-Akhyār*, MS., p. 406; *G.A.*, f. 372.
56. *M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 113; Eng. tr., p. 168; *G.A.*, f. 372*b*.
57. *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, MS., f. 106b.
58. For his life, see *A.A.*, pp. 261-71; *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, MS., ff. 47-134*b*.
59. *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, MS., f. 106*b*.
60. *Ibid.*, f. 113*b*.
61. *A.A.*, MS., f. 406; *Irsāl al-Makātīb*, MS., p. 277.

government support, the inactivity of the *'Ulamā'* and the dearth of religious fervour among the people.

When Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llah arrived in Delhi, in 1008/1599-1600, and people started flocking around him, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī also felt inclined towards him and subsequently, following a hint from the soul of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, obtained the *nisba* of the Naqshbandīyya order from him.[62] Soon after, the Khwāja allowed him to initiate and enrol disciples in that order.[63] In 1012/1603, the Khwāja died and with that the Shaykh, who had developed a very deep attachment to him, was plunged into grief and bewilderment. He cut down his intercourse with people and restricted himself to the precincts of his *Khānqāh*, and from now on he spent all his time in teaching and training his disciples and writing books.[64] The vacuum created by the Khwāja's death, however, appears to have been filled later on by Shāh Abū al-Ma'ālī Qadīrī of Lahore,[65] the nephew, son-in-law and successor of Shaykh Dā'ūd Shērgaṛhī (982/1574-75),[66] who died in 1024/1615.[67]

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq was kind and humane to one and all, but in view of Ṣādiq Hamadānī's devotion to himself, who had not only been his student but was also a favourite disciple of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh, the Shaykh never grudged him his affection. In 1046/1636-37 when Ṣādiq Hamadānī fell ill, the concern and anxiety felt by the Shaykh was

63. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 149; *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 397.
63. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 149. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 397.
64. *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 397-397*b*. For the chronogram he composed on the death of the Khwāja, see *Biography*, f. 66*b*.

65. He is generally confused with his namesake who was a disciple of his contemporary Qādirī saint, Mīyān Mīr Lāhaurī. The confusion started with Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhaurī (*Khazīnat al-Aṣfīyā'* (Lahore 1863), Vol. I, pp. 149-50) and was continued in almost all the subsequent works, namely Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* (Lahore 1892), p. 63; Denzil Ibbetson, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P.*, ed. H.A. Rose (Lahore 1919), Vol. I, p. 165; Shaykh Muḥammad Ikrām, *Rūd-i Kauthar*, Fifth edition (Lahore 1970)), p. 379; and I'jāz al-Ḥaqq Quddūsī, *Tadhkira-i Ṣūfīyā-i Panjāb* (Karachi 1962), pp. 79-80. For further details see my article 'Ḥaḍrat Shāh Abū al-Ma'ālī Qādirī aur Ḥaḍrat Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq
details see my article *'Ḥaḍrat Shāh Abū al-Ma'ālī Qādirī aur Ḥaḍrat Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith ke Bāhamī Rawābiṭ'*, *Ṣaḥīfa*, Journal of the Majlis-i Taraqqī-i Adab, Lahore
66. He was the most prominent *Ṣūfī* of the Qādiriyya order in his time and id a lot of work in the propagation of that *Silsila* in the central areas of the Punjab. For his life see *M.T.*, pp. 28-39; *Ibid.*, Eng. tr., pp. 47-63; *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 249*b*.
67. Raḥm 'Alī Khān Īmān, *Muntakhab al-Laṭā'if*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī-i Nā'inī and Sayyid Amīr Ḥasan 'Ābidī (Tehran 1349 H.Sh.), p. 301; *Khazīnat al-Aṣfīyā'*, Vol. I, p. 150. Cf. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 360*b*.

a hundred times more than that exhibited by any of Ṣādiq's own near relatives and dear friends. Although they lived in two different corners of the town, the Shaykh wrote him a letter, and sometimes two letters every day to enquire about his health. Ṣādiq Hamadānī collected about one hundred and fifty such letters in the Shaykh's own hand.[68]

Besides other works of *Ḥadīth* that Ṣādiq Hamadānī studied at the feet of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, he finished the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* of Shaykh Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī also. Thereafter, he compiled its *Asmā' al-rijāl,* the annotated index of the transmitters of *Ḥadīth* mentioned in that book, and sent it to the Shaykh for his perusal. The Shaykh was overwhelmed with joy at the sight of the work, and in the course of a warm and encouraging letter addressed to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, wrote 'that the remark of some of my teachers of *Ḥādīth* that "we have benefited from you more than you have from ourselves", actually applies to this situation. No doubt you benefited from myself but the gains I shall obtain from your work will certainly be more than that'.[69]

The Shaykh died on 21st Rabī' I, 1052/19th June, 1642, and was buried in a mausoleum already constructed in the vicinity of the famous Ḥauḍ-i Shamsī, in Delhi.[70] Ṣādiq Hamadānī paid his last tribute to his master in the shape of the following chronogram:[71]

غوث آفاق شیخ عبدالحق — مظهر فیض وعلم و عرفان رفت
شبلی وقت و بایزید و جنید — هر سه در یک زمان و یک آن رفت
دفتر فقه و زهد شد درهم — بوحنیفه گذشت و سفیان رفت
جزو با کل نشست در خلوت — جان عالم بسوی جانان رفت
زینت و زیب اهل علم نماند — محیی دین هر مسلمان رفت
سال فوتش ز عقل پرسیدم — هاتفی گفت : قطب دوران رفت

68. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 398*b*.
69. *Ibid.*, ff. 398-398*b*.
70. *Risāla dar Ḥāl-i Wafāt; Mir'at al-Ḥaqā'iq*, p. 92.
71. *Risāla dar Ḥāl-i Wafāt.*

(ii) Shaykh Fā'iḍ Dihlawī

He remembered by heart the substance of most books on rhetoric and principles of jurisprudence. When his students studied any book in his presence, he explained the meaning of several pages in advance and thus made the lesson easier for them. Modest, humble and sincere, he was not in the least affected by contemporary philosophies and heterodox ideas. In short, he was a scholar with all the saintly virtues. Ṣādiq Hamadānī studied the *Muṭawwal* at his feet.[72]

Shaykh Fā'iḍ died in 1022/1613-14 and was buried in the Qadam Sharīf.[73]

(iii) Shaykh Chānd Dihlawī

He was another of Ṣādiq Hamadānī's teachers, who had acquired knowledge with great diligence and industry. A multivorous reader, he would hardly part with his books. He had an amazing knack of expatiating in detail upon the contents of a wide range of books. He died in 1029/1619-20 and was buried in Maqbara-i Bukhārīyān.[74]

IV. HIS SPIRITUAL PRECEPTOR

Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh

In view of the early and close relations of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī and Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī with Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh, we may assume that Ṣādiq Hamadānī also joined his company soon after his arrival in Delhi, in 1008/1599-1600. Like all others who came into contact with the Khwāja, Ṣādiq Hamadānī was much affected by his benevolent personality and remarkable mystical achievements, and even after the Khwāja's death, he continued

72. Sayyid Alīriḍā Naqawī (*Tadhkira-nawīsī dar Hind-o Pākistān* (Tehran 1964), p. 189 and Aḥmad Gulchīn-i Ma'ānī (*Ta'rīkh-i Tadhkira-hā-i Fārsī* (Tehran 1350 H.Sh.), Vol. II, p. 675, fn. 1) both have confused him with Shaykh Abū al-Fayḍ-i Fayyāḍī (d. 1004/1595-96). The latter, who relies solely on Naqawī's evidence, and does not appear to have seen Rieu himself, however, imputes the *baseless* blame of 'committing the mistakes and misleading others' to the latter, who clearly writes: 'He [Muḥammad Ṣādiq] studied under Shaikh Fā'iz, who died A.H. 1022, . . .', *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1883), Vol. III, p. 1009.
73. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 377.
74. *Ibid.*, ff. 377-377*b*.

to derive inspiration from his cherished memory.[1] He dealt at length with the life and achievements of the Khwāja in his (now lost) work, the *Silsilat al-Ṣādiqīn*,[2] and devoted quite a few pages[3] of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* also to the description of the attainments and aphorisms of his preceptor. All his writings, and particularly the poems[4] he composed on the occasion of the Khwāja's death, speak eloquently of his extreme respect and reverence for the deceased saint.

Abū al-Mu'ayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llah bin Qāḍī 'Abd al-Salām Khaljī Qurayshī Samarqandī was born at Kabul, on 5th Dhū al-Ḥijja 971/15th July 1564.[5] He was a precocious but introverted child. His father who himself was known for his piety and learning, did everything possible to ensure his proper upbringing. In 978/1570-71 when Maulānā Ṣādiq Ḥalwā'ī, a pre-eminent scholar from Samarqand, passed through Kabul on his way back from the Hijaz,[6] Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the younger brother of the Emperor Akbar, requested him to stay in Kabul and hold classes there. The Maulānā's stay in Kabul was a windfall for the local students and Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh was included among those who attentded his lectures. When the Maulānā departed for Samarqand, Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh also accompanied him. But he had not yet completed his education in external sciences, under Maulānā Ṣādiq Ḥalwā'ī, when he was possessed by a divine ecstasy. He abandoned his studies and set out in search of a spiritual guide.[7] During his wanderings he met many renowned saints and even performed penance under the direction of some of them including Khwāja 'Ubayd, Shaykh Iftikhār and Amīr 'Abd Allāh Balkhī.[8] But for some reason or another he failed to acquire spiritual solace in Transoxiana and decided to come down to India.[9] Some of his friends (*Aqrān*) who were already in Lahore and held influential positions in the military, out of consideration for his material welfare, offered to help him get a similar job. He declined their offer and instead

1. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 193.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-196.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 163; 193-6.
5. *Sīrat-i Bāqī* quoted in *Rūd-i Kauthar*, pp. 191-92., *E.I.*, s.v. 'Bākī Billāh'. The earliest biographies of the Khwāja do not give any specific date of his birth, rather, they give an approximate year of his birth, i.e. 971/1563-64. See *Zubda*, pp. 5, 127, *Ḥaḍarāt*, Urdū tr., Vol. I, pp. 215-216.
6. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 270.
7. *Zubda*, p. 6.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 9-10.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

continued the search for a spiritual preceptor. In his quest he ignored the severities of the weather, he disregarded the frailties of his physique and the entreaties of his mother to pay heed to his failing health fell on his deaf ears. Nevertheless, his steadfastness gave way when his heart was captured by a handsome youth. His infatuation with this youth gave him some respite in the midst of his pursuit. After the departure of the latter, the pangs of separation distracted his attention but ultimately he emerged from this crisis with a redoubled zeal.[10] He went as far as Delhi and then wondered to Kashmir, where he spent about two years in the company of Bābā Wālī. Bābā Wālī was a distinguished saint from Transoxiana who had arrived in Kashmir sometime in 999/1590-91 and was poisoned there in 1001/1592-93, at the instance of Mirzā Yādigār.[11] After his death Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh resumed his travels and ultimately went back to Samarqand and joined the company of Maulānā Khwājagī Amkanagī (d. 1008/1599-1600).[12] The Maulānā initiated him formally into the Naqshbandiyya order, kept him under intensive personal care for three consecutive days and nights, and then bade him go back to India and spread the Naqshbandiyya order there.[13] Back in India, the Khwāja stayed in Lahore for about one year,[14] before proceeding to Delhi in 1008/1599-1600, where he died on Saturday, the 25th Jumādā II, 1012/30th November, 1603.[15]

Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh laid great stress on *Sharī'a,* exhibited extreme respect and reverence for *Sayyids* and scholars, and in all matters, great and small, sought the advice of the jurisconsults.[16] Conversation about mundane matters was strictly prohibited in his presence and slandering was out of the question.[17] If somebody disregarded the injunction of the *Sharī'a,* the Khwāja would not reprimand him directly but rather would convey his disapproval through metaphors and parables.[18] Another thing he always paid great attention to was the lawfulness of the means of livelihood. He would spare no effort to make sure that his food was procured from religiously[18] allowed sources. He possessed a pleasant

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
11. *Ta'rīkh-i A'ẓamī*, p. 110.
12. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 236*b*.
13. *Zubda*, pp. 12-13.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
15. *Biography*, f. 63.; *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 162-3; *Zubda*, p. 32.
16. *Zubda*, p. 15.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

sense of humour, and in his dealings with others was very compassionate, kind and humane.[19] Once, during his stay in Lahore, when that city was visited by a famine, out of concern for the starving population the Khwāja did not eat anything for several days.[20] Whether his concern extended to the Hindus also, who in normal circumstances were an eyesore to him, is open to speculation. In an eye-witness account of the last days of his life, compiled by an anonymous devotee, we read that one day before his death, when his condition became alarming, a Hindu physician was sent for. Instead of causing any relief, the appearance of the Hindu physician created an indescribable turbulence in the Khwāja's soul, signs of abhorrence appeared in his otherwise composed countenance, and, to show his displeasure, he turned his back on the physician. At this juncture, Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn explained that it was with the approval of the Khwāja's mother that the Hindu physician had been called. On hearing the name of his mother the wrinkless disappeared from the Khwāja's forehead and he regained his normal state.[21] This incident not only shows the great respect that the Khwāja entertained for his mother, but also reveals the low esteem in which he held the Hindu community.* Apparently, he belonged to that segment of *Ṣūfīs* who laid more emphasis on "Islamising the Muslims"[22] than proselytizing the Hindus.

19. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 162.
20. *Zubda*, p. 20. A similar incident about Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' is also recorded in the *Sayr al-Auliyā'*, p. 128. Also see *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 44.
21. *Biography*, f. 47.

* His contemporary in the Punjab, Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad commonly known as Naushah Ganj Bakhsh (959-1064/1552-1654) also evinced the same attitude towards the majority community when he said:

نوشہ ہندو چور نے گلاں لین چورا
اینہاں نہ آون پاس دیہ اینہاں پاس نہ جا
مول نہ اینہاں نال مل ملن نہ دیہ سچیار
ایہ سب گل دے چور نے بیٹھ اینہاں دا پیار
کافر ہندی دوستی کرے دین تباہ
جیہے نوں تیہا ملے کہے فقیر نوشاہ

See his *Ganj Sharīf Panjābī*, ed. Sayyid Sharīf Aḥmad Sharāfat Naushāhī, Lahore, 1980, pp. 6-7.

22. See *ibid.*, ff. 26-28.

True to long-standing Naqshbandī tradition of associating with the ruling hierarchy,[23] the Khwāja also cultivated close contacts with the Mughal elite who, to quote Abdul Qadir,

> constituted a sort of agency through which the ideals of art and morals and manners were diffused among the lower classes. . . . . The habits and customs of people, their ideas, tendencies, ambitions, their tastes and pleasures, were often unconsciously fashioned on this model. The peerage acted as the conduit-pipe for this stream of influence. . . .[24]

The Khwāja used the "peerage" not only for the dissemination of his ideals and moral teachings but also for the amelioration of the conditions of his followers. He succeeded in laying a solid foundation in India for the Naqshbandīyya order, which continued to flourish even after his death.

Khwāja Bāqī's meteoric career as a mystic — his sudden arrival in Delhi, the number of devoted disciples he produced in a relatively short period of time and his premature death at the age of forty — was like a cloudburst that falls in a boundless desert on a band of thirsty and tired travellers, lends them a new lease of life, and disappears.

Besides a great number of devotees and disciples, Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh was survived by two sons, Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh and Khwāja 'Abd Allāh. Both were infants at the time of their father's death and were brought up under the care of Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn.[25] They grew up to become great exponents of their father's teachings. Ṣādiq Hamadānī, who knew them from their early days, writing in 1048/1638-39, remarks:

> Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh [generally known as Khwāja Kalān], had drunk deep at the fountain of holiness and was adorned with piety and good moral character. His attainments in the field of knowledge, particularly in poetry and *belles-lettres* were commendable. His *oeuvres* included a hagiological work about the Companions of the Prophet and the saints of Islam down to his own time, which exhibited his erudition and industry in full measure. His brother Khwāja 'Abd Allāh [commonly called Khwāja Khurd] was also a man of many parts. He was fully proficient in mysticism and had a sound grounding in meta-

23. See *infra*.
24. 'The Cultural Influences of Islam', *The Legacy of India*, ed. G.T. Garratt (Oxford 1938 repr.), p. 297.
25. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 183-4. *Zubda*, p. 80.

physics, scholastic theology and rhetoric. His company always had a beneficial effect on his associates and went a long way in the improvement of their mystical achievements. He was averse to hoarding anything for the morrow. After meeting the bare necessities of his family he would distribute everything among the deserving. He shunned association with nobles and grandees, but always felt at home in the company of the poor, the needy and the indigent. It seemed that he would become a lamp that would illumine the whole world.[26]

V. HIS CONTEMPORARIES

A cursory glance at the hagiographies will reveal that *Ṣūfī* hospices and convents, if on the one hand they provided a rendezvous for the Muslim elite and intelligentsia, on the other they were islands and oases of mental peace and spiritual solace for the huge masses of the under-privileged and the downtrodden in society. The *Khānqāh* of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh was apparently no exception to this rule. Ṣādiq Hamadānī who, to quote the Mujaddid, called himself a *Pīr-parast* (Worshipper of the Preceptor) must have come across a large cross-section of people in the *Khānqāh* of his *Pīr*. Moreover, his close contacts with such distinguished scholars as Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, whose students spread from Kashmir to Lahore and Bihar; and his spiritual ties with such prominent *Khalīfas* of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh as Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Sanbhalī, Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn, Miyān Shaykh Ilahdād Amrōhagī and last but not the least, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, cannot have been ineffectual in extending the range of his friends and acquaintances. Moreover, he had acquired an early taste for the company of the learned; that too would have done much to help him cultivate relations with countless of his contemporaries. But unfortunately, out of negligence or sheer modesty, as with other aspects of his life, he has not left us any detail in this regard. The following information, however, about his contemporaries, which is mainly gleaned from his own works, besides placing him in the right perspective, throws invaluable light on the social *milieu* and the mood of his times.

26. *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 410-410*b*.

The contemporaries of Ṣādiq Hamadānī can be divided into three main categories:

(1) *Khalīfas* of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh and their followers;
(2) Other devotees and disciples of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh; and
(3) Miscellaneous: *Ṣūfīs*, Scholars and Poets.

(1) Khalīfas of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh and Their Followers

(i) Shaykh Tāj Sanbhalī:

The senior most companion of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh, Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Sanbhalī, was actually a disciple and *Khalīfā* of Sayyid 'Alī Qiwām's[27] *Khalīfā*, Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh. It was during his wanderings in India before settling in Delhi that Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh met him for the first time in the company of Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh, in the vicinity of Sanbhal. Shaykh Tāj wished to have the Khwāja initiated at the hands of his precepter, Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh, but the Khwāja could not make up his mind. Nevertheless, he was deeply impressed by the piety and devotion of Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh and the sincerity of Shaykh Tāj. Thereafter the Khwāja left for Transoxiana. Meanwhile Shaykh Ilah Bakhsh died, and when the Khwāja repaired to Delhi Shaykh Tāj went there and joined his company. He was the first among the companions of the Khwāja who were allowed to enrol disciples and guide them in the Naqshbandiyya order.[28] After his investiture as *Khalīfā*, he went back to Sanbhal but continued to visit the Khwāja at regular intervals.

Shaykh Tāj was endowed with a unique ability to transform others. Whomsoever he graced with his attention was overtaken by rapture and self-annihilation instantaneously.[29] After the death of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh he set out on a journey of India and Kashmir, and subsequently went to the Hijaz.[30] There also he travelled extensively, propagated the Naqshbandiyya order and deputed his *Khalīfās* in Makkah, Madinah and the Yemen. He sent them to some distant Arabian islands too. Ultimately he settled in the Hijaz and enjoyed much respect and reverence among the natives.[31] He was alive at least until the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*

27. He was an eminent disciple of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Jaunpūrī, who traced his spiritual lineage to Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Chirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 707/1308). Most of his time was spent in mystical ecstasy. He died in 950/1543-44. *A.A.*, pp. 225-226, *Zubda*, p. 122.
28. *Zubda*, p. 71.
29. *Ibid.*, *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 396.
30. *Zubda*, p. 76.
31. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 396.

in 1048/1638-39.

His son-in-law, Sayyid Maḥmūd Amrōhagī, who came from a noble family, was also a very brilliant young man. He had attained proficiency in external sciences at a relatively young age. Impressed by his virtues, Shaykh Tāj Sanbhalī gave him the hand of his daughter and spared no effort to add lustre to his intrinsic qualities. But before he could see the results of his labour, Sayyid Maḥmūd died in 1037/1627-28.[32]

Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān was another brilliant and favourite disciple of Shaykh Tāj Sanbhalī. When Shaykh Tāj returned to Sanbhal after his investiture, Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān was one of his first disciples, and he soon astonished his preceptor with his rapid strides in the mystical path. The excited Shaykh informed Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh that a very bright young man had fallen into his trap. "Come yourself and bring that brilliant young man along", was the Khwāja's reply. Accordingly, the preceptor and novice both set out for Delhi to see the Khwāja. The Khwāja was also impressed by the capabilities of the young neophyte and bestowed on him special favours which, in turn, made him all the more firm in his devotion to the Naqshbandīyya order. At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān was leading a life of isolation in Sanbhal.[33]

(ii) Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn.

He was born in 977/1569-70 at Qundūz in Badakhshān and came to India with his father, Qāḍī Niẓām al-Dīn Badakhshī, in 983/1575-76. Qāḍī Badakhshī, whose forefathers had long been associated with the Tirmūrid kings and had performed meritorious services under them, was received with open arms by Akbar.[34] He conferred on him the title of Qāḍī Khān, which was consequently changed to Ghāzī Khān.[35] By the time of his death in 993/1584-85, the Qāḍī had become one of the favourite courtiers of the Emperor.[36] After his death, Akbar extended his patronage to his son, and, in keeping with the established norms of the court, bestowed on him a rank of three hundred as a first step to future promotion.[37] Abū al-Faḍl offered the hand of his sister to the

32. *Ibid.*; f. 410*b*.
33. *Ibid.*, ff. 406*b*-407.
34. *Ibid.*, f. 400*b*.
35. 'Allāmī Abū al-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma* (Calcutta 1886), Vol. III, pp. 108-109.
36. *Zubda*, p. 78.
37. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 401.

young *Manṣabdār*[38] and by the time Khwāja Husam al-Dīn was dispatched to the Deccan expedition with Khān-i Khānān 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān, he held the rank of 1000.[39] However, the grandeur of the imperial camp and court could not hold his attention for ever. It was during his stay in the Deccan that the transformation came about and, bidding farewell to mundane pomp and show, he hastened to Delhi and, despite opposition from Abū al-Faḍl,[40] became a disciple of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh.[41] Bāqī Bi'llāh in the course of time invested him with the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandīyya order but, except on one occasion, he never enrolled a disciple. In 1012/1603 when Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh fell ill, Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn was the only senior *Khalīfa* who was present at the *Khānqāh*.[42] So he served his preceptor during his lifetime and arranged his obsequies after his death. The burden of running the main *Khānqāh* in Delhi and bringing up the children of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh also devolved upon him.[43]

Ṣādiq Hamadānī, who cherished a very deep regard for Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn, has bestowed lavish encomiums on him, both in the *Kalimāt*[44] and the *Ṭabaqāt*,[45] which reflect his strong faith in the latter's spiritual powers. Out of the many letters that he received from the Khwāja from time to time, Ṣādiq Hamadānī has reproduced two in the *Kalimāt*.[46]

Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn died at Akbarabad in 1043/1633. His body was brought to Delhi and was buried near the tomb of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on his death:[47]

چون حسام الحق از جهان بگذشت　　حصن دین را اساس محکم رفت

پدر و جد اهل ایمان بود　　مظهر نوح و شیث و آدم رفت

بایزید و جنید دوران شد　　شبلی وقت و ابن ادهم رفت

38. *Zubda*, p. 79.
39. Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, ed. Sayyid Mu'īn al-Ḥaqq (Karachi 1961), Vol. I, p. 242.
40. *Zubda*, p. 79.
41. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 401.
42. *Zubda*, p. 80; also see *Biography*, f. 47*b*.
43. See infra, pp.
44. Persian Text, pp. 184-187.
45. F. 401*b*.
46. Persian Text, pp. 184; 186-7.
47. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 401*b*.

حج مبرور بود دیدنٔ او   برکات مقام و زمزم رفت

یار بیچارگان خسته نماند   اهل دین را انیس و همدم رفت

گفت تاریخ فوتش اهل دلی :   آه قطب زمان ز عالم رفت

Ṣūfī Gadā 'Alī was a close associate of Khwāja Husām al-Dīn. Actually he was a devotee of Mullā Yār Muḥammad Fatḥpūrī[48] and was employed in the army where he held the rank of *Aḥadī.* Subsequently, he relinquished the government job, took to a life of indigence and resigned himself to the care and company of Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn at Firuzabad, in Delhi. No matter whether he was in government service or not, he did not change his routine of contenting himself with the bare necessities of life and distributing everything else to the poor. He died in 1040/1630-31 and was buried beside the tomb of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh, near Qadam Sharīf. Ṣādiq Hamadānī recited the following chronogram on this occasion:[49]

بزندگی دو روزه چه می شوی مغرور

که هست زندگی و عمر جمله وهم و خیال

نماند صوفی صافی گدا علی بجهان

بنال ای دل شوریده روزگار بنال

چو سال رفتن او را زعقل پرسیدم

بگفت عقل که آه از بزرگ نیک خصال

(iii) Shaykh Ilahdād Amrōhagī:

He was one of the trusted disciples of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh and his association with the Khwāja went as far back as the latter's first visit to Lahore, before finally settling down in Delhi.[50] Shaykh Ilahdād was known for his severe ascetic austerities. During a period of five or six days he would consume a negligible amount of victuals; otherwise he was almost continually in a state of fasting,

48. He was a distinguished disciple and *Khalīfa* of Qāḍī Tarsūn Balkhī (d. 1013/1604-05). His gatherings were famed for their mystical tumult. He was always in a state of spiritual rapture that would sometimes get hold of the whole audience also. He died in 1037/1627-28. *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 348*b*., 404*b*.

48/A A common foot-soldier. See Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi, repr., 1967, p. 97.

49. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 411.

50. *Zubda*, p. 87.

meditation and self-scanning (*Muḥāsiba*).[51] The Khwāja viewed the mystical achievements of the Shaykh with approval, as was illustrated by the fact that when the former decided to go back to Transoxiana, during his stay in Lahore, he entrusted his disciples to the care of Shaykh Ilahdād.[52] While in Delhi also, the maintenance of the Naqshbandīyya *Khānqāh* and the upkeep of its inmates was Shaykh Ilahdād's responsibility.[53] At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, in 1048/1638-39, he headed the Naqshbandīyya *Khānqāh* and was the only surviving senior companion of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh.[54]

The relations between Miyān Shaykh Ilahdād and Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn were very warm and cordial. Whosoever approached the Khwāja for initiation or wanted to learn *Dhikr* and meditation, the latter would refer him to Miyān Shaykh Ilahdād.[55] Among his disciples Mullā Mubārak Kanbō, of Delhi, occupied a very prominent position. He was a distinguished scholar and in learning and erudition was a peer of Shaykh Muḥammad Mudarris Dihlawī. The Mullā had learnt at Akbarabad the sciences that were not usually taught at Delhi. After the acquisition of worldly knowledge, he developed a taste for mysticism and became a disciple of Shaykh Ilahdād. He led a saintly life in Delhi, where he died in 1040/1630-31.[56]

(iv) Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī:

The most prominent of the Khwāja's disciples and *Khalīfas* was Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī Kābulī Fārūqī, generally known as *Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thānī,* The Reviver of the Second Millennium. He was born at Sirhind, in the Punjab, on 14th Shawwāl 971/26th May 1564.[57] His father was deeply read in traditional as well as speculative sciences, and was a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Gangōhī.[58] He had also benefited from the benedictions of several other saints[59] including Shaykh Kamāl

51. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 407.
52. *Zubda*, p. 87.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
54. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 407.
55. *Zubda*, p. 88.
56. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 421*b*.
57. See *Zubda*, p. 127; *Ḥaḍarāt*, p. 31; *E.I.*, s.v. 'Aḥmad Sirhindī'; *Rūd-i Kauthar*, p. 222. *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, p. 202.
58. *Zubda*, p. 92. *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 28-29. Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn was the son and successor of the famous Chishtī saint, Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs, of Gangoh, who died in 944/1537. He obtained the Qādirī ordination from Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Irajī al-Qādirī (d. 953/1546-47) who was the most distinguished scholar of his time in Delhi. Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn died in 983/1576. See *Zubda*, pp. 101-102., *G.A.*, f. 152.
59. See *Zubda*, pp. 103, 109, 113.

Qādirī Kaithalī.[60] Having committed the Holy Qur'ān to memory at an early age, Shaykh Aḥmad commenced his formal education under the patronage of his father. For higher studies, however, he went to Sialkot[61] and sat at the feet of scholars as renowned and distinguished as Shaykh Kamāl Kashmīrī,[62] Shaykh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī[63] and Qāḍī Buhlūl Badakhshānī.[64] At the age of seventeen he returned to Sirhind, fully proficient in all branches of knowledge, both those which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and those which depend on the memory, and set himself the task of teaching and imparting instruction to his students. Around the age of twenty[65] he went to Agra and mixed with the intellectual elite of the capital, including Shaykh Abū al-Faḍl and his elder brother, Shaykh Fayḍī, whose eclectic tendencies, however, did not strike a favourable chord in the Shaykh's heart.[66] When his stay in Agra was prolonged, his father also followed him, but before long the father and son were back in Sirhind, busily teaching and writing treatises and tracts on theological and polemical subjects.[67] Meanwhile, the Shaykh perpetually profited from the spiritual graces of his father and obtained from him permission to enrol disciples in the Chishtiyya and Qādiriyya orders.[68] In 1007/1599, his father breathed his last and the following year Shaykh Aḥmad set out for the pilgrimage (*Ḥajj*).[69] On reaching Delhi, as mentioned earlier, he was attracted to the company of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh.[70] The Khwāja received him very courteously and, contrary to his practice, asked him to put off his journey to the Hijaz and stay with him for a month, or at least for a week.[71] The Shaykh agreed to stay for a week, but hardly two days had elapsed when he felt impelled to perform penitence at the hand of the Khwāja and to acquire the Naqshbandī ordination from him.[72]

60. They met each other in the assembly of Shaykh Jalāl Thānēsarī (d. 989/1581) who was an eminent *Khalīfa* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangōhī. Shaykh Kamāl belonged to the Qādiriyya order of mystics and had attained full perfection in spirituality. He died in 981/1573-74, and was buried in Kaithal, a township of Sirhind. *Zubda*, pp. 103-108.
61. *Zubda*, p. 128.
62. See *supra*.
63. He was a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Ḥusayn Khwārazmī Kubrawī and a very prominent scholar of the reign of Akbar. He died on 18 Dhī-Qa'da 1003/25th July 1595. See *Zubda*, p. 128; *M.T.*, Vol. III, pp. 142-148; Eng. tr., pp. 200-209.
64. He was a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Fahd, who was an eminent *Muḥaddith* of the Hijaz and belonged to a distinguished family of *Muḥaddithīn*. See *Zubda*, p. 128.
65. *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, p. 206.
66. *Zubda*, pp. 131-132.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
68. *Zubda*, p. 133, 134, 136; *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 28-29.
69. *Zubda*, pp. 122, 128.
70. See *supra*.
71. *Zubda*, p. 139.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Seeing him eager the Khwāja responded favourably and imparted to him the method of Naqshbandī *Dhikr*, and thereby ushered in a new era of spiritual solace, peace and tranquility in his life. The Shaykh stayed for three months at the Naqshbandī *Khānqāh* and then returned to Sirhind.[73] Before his departure, the Khwāja, besides giving him a complete code of ethics, conferred on him the robe of *Khilāfat* and allowed him to enrol disciples.[74] Not only that, but as a mark of his confidence in his spiritual attainments, he transferred some of his own disciples to Shaykh Aḥmad's care and supervision.[75] Back in Sirhind, the Shaykh underwent a severe internal turmoil: a strong desire to lead a life of complete solitude and the preceptor's advice to continue with a life of academic pursuits were in sharp contrast with each other. The latter prevailed, and he taught and trained disciples for a while before calling on the Khwāja for the second time. It was during his stay in Sirhind this time that Shāh Sikandar, the grandson of Shaykh Kamāl Kaithalī, conferred on him the latter's spiritual robe and allowed him to initiate disciples in the Qādirīyya order.[76]

His third and last visit to Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh took place about seven or eight months before the latter's death.[77] When the news of his arrival in Delhi reached the Khwāja, despite his frail health and weak physique, he hastened to receive his favourite disciple, half way to the *Khānqāh*.[78] One day, while the Shaykh was still there and other disciples were also in attendance, the Khwāja sent for his infant sons, Khwāja 'Abd Allāh and Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh. When they were brought in, the Khwāja cast an affectionate glance at them and, addressing the audience, remarked: "They are orphans", meaning thereby that his days were numbered.[79] How long the Shaykh stayed with his preceptor on this occasion, is unknown. After his return from Delhi, he stayed for some time in Sirhind and then, at the instance of the Khwāja, proceeded to Lahore where a large number of people were attracted to his assemblies.[80] He was still at Lahore when the news of his preceptor's death arrived and he rushed to Delhi, whence he went to Sirhind and lived there until he died on 28th Ṣafar 1034/10th December, 1624.[81]

73. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
74. *Biography*, f. 36-36*b*., *Kalimāt-i Ṭayyibāt*, f. 122*a*., quoted in the *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, p. 209, fn. 1.
75. *Zubda*, p. 146.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
77. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, *p. 182.*
78. *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, p. 211.
79. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 182. Also see *Zubda*, p. 155.
80. *Zubda*, p. 157.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 159; *Ḥadarāt*, p. 208.

Among the *oeuvres* of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, his letters (*Maktūbāt*), wherein he mainly answered questions from his correspondents and expatiated upon different aspects of mystical experience, are considered to be his *magnum opus.*[82]

Ṣādiq Hamadānī, both in the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn*[83] that he wrote during the lifetime of the Mujaddid (1023/1614), and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī*[84] (1048/1638-39) which he compiled after his death (1034/1624), referred to him in very reverential terms. His relations with the Mujaddid's descendants, disciples and *Khālīfas* were also cordial and he noticed the following of them in the *Ṭabaqāt:*

(a) Khwāja Muḥammad Sa'īd Fārūqī Sirhindī:

The second son and successor of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, Muḥammad Sa'īd Fārūqī was born in 1005/1597. After the completion of his education under the care of his father, his elder brother Muḥammad Ṣādiq (d. 1025/1616) and Mullā Ṭāhir Lāhaurī,[85] by the age of seventeen he had become a scholar by all standards. He taught difficult texts like the *Ḥikmat al-'ayn,* the 'Aḍuddī and the Bayḍāwī with great proficiency. He had written glosses on the *Mishkāt* and his annotations on the *Ḥāshiyya-i Khayālī* were read with interest and profit.[86] According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, he was an embodiment of perfection both in theory and practice and his main occupation was the guidance of his followers in the Naqshbandīyya order. His brother Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm was also well known for his attainments. The relations between the two brothers were very warm and cordial. Both of them taught and imparted mystical instruction to their devotees and disciples, in a mosque situated next to their house in Sirhind, and lent splendour and grace to the virtues of piety, probity, abstinence and the fear of God. Their younger brother, Muḥammad Yaḥyā, had also completed his education and spiritual training at their feet and was counted among the scholars of his time.[87]

82. The mystical revelations expounded by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī in his *Maktūbāt* aroused a great deal of concern and controversy among his contemporaries and the subsequent generations of scholars, both in and outside India. They are engaging the attention of the modern scholarship as well. For details see S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Agra 1965), Shaykh Muḥammad Ikrām, *Rūd-i Kauthar,* Fifth edition (Lahore 1970), pp. 222-379, and Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal and London 1971).
83. Persian Text, *pp. 187-92.*
84. Ff. 403, 407, 421.
85. See *infra.*
86. *Ḥaḍarāt,* p. 234.
87. *Ṭabaqāt,* ff. 407-407*b.*

(b) Khwāja Muḥammad Siddīq Kishmī.

He was a disciple of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh. After the latter's death, like so many other disciples of the Khwāja, he also passed under the spiritual supervision of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī. He practised a great many ascetic austerities over a long period and became blessed with full perfection in mystical flights. It was at this stage that Shaykh Aḥmad bestowed on him the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandīyya order and dispatched him to Delhi. In external sciences also Khwāja Ṣiddīq was fully accomplished and his attainments in poetry and *belles-lettres* were excellent. In earlier days when he was still in military service, most of his spare time was spent in the poetical gatherings arranged by Khān-i Khānān 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān, wherein such renowned poets as Naẓīrī (d. 1021/1612-13) and Shakībī (d. 1020/1611-12) also participated. Subsequently, when the passion for spiritualism overpowered him, he abandoned poetry altogether, came to Delhi and made his abode in the company of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī. Khwāja Ṣiddīq died in 1050/1640-41. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed three chronograms on this occasion, two in verse and one in prose.[88] One of the versified ones is as follows:

گلستان فضایل میر صدیق — که در علم و عمل بوده است کامل
ز اخلاق و ز اوصاف بزرگان — هر آنچه باید او را بود حاصل
بعرفان و بعلم و . . . — به پیشش بود آسان جمله مشکل
بسال یکهزار و پنجه از غیب — بناگه مرگ بر وی گشت نازل
مه شوال بود و روز شنبه — که از دنیا بعقبی گشت مایل
ز پیر عقل جستم سال فوتش — جگر صد پاره پاره داغ بر دل
دبیر عقل با یک نوک خامه — نوشته آه آن کان فضایل

Khwāja Muḥammad Ṣiddīq's son, Muḥammad Fārūq, who emerged as a brilliant poet during the reign of Shāhjahān, was also known to Ṣādiq Hamadānī. Muḥammad Fārūq was a very promising lad, and he made his way into the assemblies of the reputed nobles and grandees of his time at a relatively early age. Afḍal Khān 'Allāmī[89] is reported to have remarked that he had met with a great many scholars and poets both in India as well as in Transoxiana but he did not find any of them

88. *Ibid.*, f. 413*b* margin.
89. See *infra*.

so versatile as Fārūq. Consequently, at the instance of the 'Allāmī, Fārūq was created a noble by Shāhjahān and was deputed to the province of Kabul so that he could have an easy and affluent life and devote the maximum time and energy to exercising his talents. Soon after his appointment there, Fārūq endeared himself to Nawwāb Sa'īd Khān, the governor of the province. Side by side with his literary activities, however, he paid full attention to the welfare of the local people and left no stone unturned to ameliorate their conditions.[90] The following couplets were composed by him.

مست گشتم نه باده بود نه جام   صید کردی نه دانه بود نه دام
یار از بزم ما سحر برخاست   صبح ما باز رفت جانب شام

(c) Mīr Muḥammad Nu'mān Kishmī:

He was a favourite disciple of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh. After the death of the Khwāja, he also joined the company of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī who conferred on him the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandīyya order in 1018/1609-10 and ordered him to go to Burhanpur.[91] Soon he settled in Burhanpur and became very popular among the people. He stayed there for some time and then decided to pay a visit to his preceptor, Shaykh Aḥmad, in Sirhind. During his absence all his devotees in Burhānpūr rallied round his relative, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī's *Khalīfa*, Khwāja Hāshim Kishmī. When Mīr Nu'mān got back to Burhānpūr from Sirhind, he found the whole scene changed. Failing to find a sufficient following in that town, he left Burhanpur to Khwāja Hāshim and came to Akbarabad, where he was still alive at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt.*[92]

(d) Khwāja Hāshim Kishmī:

He was a prominent *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. He learnt meditation and other basic teachings of the Naqshbandīyya *silsila* from Mīr Muḥammad Nu'mān. In 1031/1621-22, the Shaykh summoned him to Sirhind and kept him under his personal supervision continuously for two years.[93] When he was fully accomplished in his spiritual attainments the Shaykh invested him with his *Khilāfat* and applied him at Burhan-

90. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 431.
91. *Ḥaḍarāt*, p. 303.
92. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 411; Cf. *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 304-305.
93. *Ḥaḍarāt*, p. 392.

pur, where he died in 1041/1631-32, at the age of forty.[94]

(e) Shaykh Ṭāhir Badakhshī

Initially he was in the military service but later as the result of an ecstasy took to the life of a *Qalandar*. On hearing the fame of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh he hastened to Delhi, but before his arrival the Khwāja had already passed away. Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī was in Delhi at that time; hence he joined the fold of his disciples. His continual occupation with Naqshbandī practices was rewarded, and ultimately he was raised to the status of a *Khalīfa*. After his investiture he went to Jaunpur and settled there. At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, he was still alive and very popular among the people. According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, once he called on the Emperor Jahāngīr and impressed him favourably with his uprightness and veracity. On the accession of Shāhjahān, he again visited the court and benefited from the imperial bounty.[95]

(f) Mullā Ṭāhir Lāhaurī:

He was one of those distinguished scholars whom Shāhjahān appointed to teach at Lahore. He learnt the external sciences from Mullā Jalāl Talawī Lāhaurī.[96] After the completion of his education he suddenly developed a taste for mysticism and became a disciple of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. He spent a considerable time in strenuous spiritual exercises before he was invested with the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandīyya order. Thereafter, he took to a life of complete detachment from the world and settled at Lahore, where he died in 1038/1628-29.[97]

(g) Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥayy Patnagī:

He was a favourite disciple of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. He was famous for his perseverance in the path of spiritual poverty (*Faqr*) and his attainments in both the formal and the essential aspects of *Ṣūfism*. Before his elevation to the position of a *Khalīfa*, he spent several years in the company of his preceptor and traversed different stages of the mystical path under his direction. He compiled the second volume of the *Maktūbāt* of the Shaykh. At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*

94. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 411. Also see *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 368-383; Muḥammad Baqā', *Mir'at al-'Ālam*, MS., British Museum, Ad. 7657, f. 495*b*.
95. *Ibid.*, ff. 413*b*-414, *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 340-343.
96. See *supra*.
97. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 421. Also see *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 319-326.

he was in Patna, guiding the people in their spiritual endeavours.[98]

(h) Shaykh Nūr Patnagī:

He was a disciple of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. He led a very simple and austere life and was averse to any sort of association with worldly people. Although the *Khilāfat* was bestowed on him earlier than Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥayy, he did not show much zeal and enthusiasm after his arrival in Patna. However, when Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥayy was also invested with the *Khilāfat* and repaired to Patna, Shaykh Nūr found in him a very good friend and through him became acquainted with other people also. Shaykh Nūr had a smattering of *Fiqh* and *Ḥadīth* and if any of the seekers after Truth approached him for guidance, he did not grudge assistance and initiated him readily.[99]

(i) Shaykh Badī' al-Dīn Sahāranpūrī:

Initially he was employed in the army, but when he acquired the taste for mysticism he joined the company of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī and learnt from him the Naqshbandī *Dhikr*. He also practised many of ascetic austerities before he was invested with the *Khilāfat* of that order. Thereafter he went to Saharanpur and occupied himself with the guidance of the people. Towards the end of his life, however, he grew averse to social life and retired to solitude. He died in 1045/1635-36.[100]

(j) Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī

He was a favourite disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. He joined his company at the age of fifteen[101] and continually remained in his service for seventeen years.[102] After the Shaykh's death, he compiled his biography called the *Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, wherein he recorded the following three chronograms composed by Ṣādiq Hamadānī, at the death of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī:[103]

فریاد ز گردش زمانه بیداد ز دست جور ایام

Ṣādiq Hamadānī, however, does not mention him in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

98. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 414*b*. Also see *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 366-368.
99. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 415. Also see *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 311-314.
100. *Ṭabaqat*, ff. 403*b*-404.
101. *Ḥaḍarāt*, p. 386.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

قطب ارشاد شیخ احمد که بود بخلق فیض او عام
در ماه صفر به بیست و هشتم بگذشت ز دهر بی سر انجام
از رفتن او ز بیدلان رفت یکباره قرار و صبر و آرام
شد روز وصال عاشقان شب شد صبح اُمید طالبان شام
تاریخ وفات او برآمد افسوس فتاده برج اسلام

* الولی لا یموت بل ینقل الی المنزل الابدی

* الموت هو جسر یوصل الحبیب الی الحبیب

(2) Devotees and Disciples of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh

(a) Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī.

The eldest son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq, was deeply read in formal and essential sciences and enjoyed the full confidence of his father. He was very fond of saints and divines, but his devotion to Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh knew no bounds. The Khwāja was also very charitable towards him. Several chronograms were composed on the death of the Khwāja but none was so steeped in emotion and marked with elegance and grace as the one composed by Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq.[104] On his accession to the throne, Shāhjahān, who cherished great regard for him, appointed him the *Qāḍī* of Akbarābād At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, the Shaykh still held that position and discharged his duties very conscientiously.[105] Ṣādiq Hamadānī has reproduced the following verses of his in the *Ṭabaqāt:*

شب ساقی از آن باده که در جام طرب کرد
آتش بعجم در زد و تاراج عرب کرد

مستانه بدامان تو دستی زده بودیم
این عقل جهول آمد و تلقین ادب کرد

گفتم گشایم از دل اندوهگین گره
ناخن بسود تا کف و نگشود این گره .

104. *Biography*, ff. 67*b*-68*b*.
105. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 419; Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Ma'āthir al-Kirām* (Lahore 1971), p. 46; *Mirat al-'Ālam*, MS. f. 455.

(b) Maulānā Jamāl Talawī Lāhaurī

Maulānā Jamāl who belonged to Tala, a famous quarter of Lahore at that time, was a real prodigy. He started teaching at the age of eight.[106] He was a pupil of Mullā Ismā'īl of Ūch, and had also received instruction from other teachers. He was fully conversant with the traditional as well as the speculative sciences, and had a good delivery and could speak unambiguously. He was renowned from his masterly exposition of different texts. According to Badāyūnī, the correction and arrangement of the Qur'ānic exegesis *Sāwāṭi' al-Ilhām*, of Fayḍī, was principally his work.[107]

The Maulānā generally showed deep regard to the dervishes but towards Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh his attitude was particularly characterized by extreme humility.[108]

(c) Mullā 'Abd al-Salām Dīwī.

He was one of the leading lights among contemporary scholars and was particularly celebrated for his virtuosity in *Fiqh*, *Uṣūl*, and rhetoric. He wrote a book about principles of jurisprudence which matched with *Talwīḥ* in authenticity and was looked on as a standard work on the subject. By disposition he was modest and did not like futile wrangling and argumentation. After the completion of his education, he spent some time at the feet of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh and greatly profited from his spiritual grace. Once he called on the Emperor Shāhjahān who, out of appreciation for his sterling human qualities, conferred on him the office of the *Muftī* of the royal camp. At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* in 1048/1638-39, the Mullā still held that office. In his spare time he conducted classes and imparted instruction to his students.[109]

(d) Ja'far Bēg Thānagī:

He was a very learned and scholarly noble, and his achievements

106. *M.T.*, Vol. III, pp. 105-106., Eng. tr., pp. 156-157. Badāyūnī refers to him as Maulānā Jalāl while all subsequent authorities mention his name as Mullā Jamāl, which seems correct. See *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 369*b*; *Ḥaḍarāt*, pp. 32, 185; *Bādshāh-nāma*, ff. 425, 426*b*; *Mir'at al-'Alam*, MS., f. 453.
107. *M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 105; Eng. tr., p. 157; *Ḥaḍarāt*, p. 32.
108. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 369*b*. According to *Bādshāh-nāma* (f. 426*b*) the date of his death is contained in the Arabic phrase – *Tamat al-'Ilm* (1011/1602-1603).
109. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 418. He received instruction in external sciences from Mullā 'Abd al-Salām Lāhaurī (d. 1039/1629-30). See *Bādshāh-nama*, f. 426*b*.

were remarkable especially in calligraphy and *belles-lettres*. He served in the imperial army for several years and was included in the *Manṣabdārs* of the Emperor Akbar. His brilliance did not fail to attract the attention of the monarch but owing to his impudence and nonconformity with the new trends at the court he soon fell into disgrace. Tired of his previous life he inclined towards mysticism, joined the company of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh and became one of his disciples. He practised a great many spiritual austerities and became so infatuated with his new way of life that when Jahāngīr, after his accession to the throne, summoned him to his court and offered to bestow on him a *Manṣab*, he did not accept it. He appears to have been held in high esteem in orthodox circles. He died in 1026/1617-18. Ṣādiq Hamadānī indicated the year of his death with the Persian phrase [110] [illegible] ,

(e) Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn Rā'ē of Patna

Although he was a disciple of Khwāja 'Abd al-Shahīd[111] he also had spent some time in the company of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh which did much to enhance his spiritual achievements. He was endowed with an angelic nature and enjoyed the reputation of a great divine. He died in 1037/1627-28.[112]

(f) Shaykh Aḥmad Khīrī

He was an old, experienced and favourite disciple of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh. He died in 1045/1635-36. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following the chronogram on this occasion:[113]

سید احمد یگانهٔ آفاق آن بری از خوشی و دلگیری
زبدهٔ آل احمد مرسل لائق مقتدائی و پیری
صرف کرده براه حق طلبی کودکی و جوانی و پیری
داشته استقامتی عجبی چون جنید و چو شبلی و حیری
صادقی گفت سال رفتن او از جهان رفت احمد کهیری

110. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 418. 379b. Letter I:139 of the *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī* is addressed to him.
111. Khwāja 'Abd al-Shahīd was a distinguished Naqshbandī saint who was greatly respected by Bābur. See *Bābar-Nāma* (*Memoirs of Babur*), Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, Indian repr. (Delhi 1970), pp. 632, 653. During the reign of Akbar he came to India and was well received by that Emperor. Akbar bestowed upon him the *pargana* of Chamārī, in Bārī Doab where he maintained two thousand poor. He returned to Samarqand in 983/1574-75 where he died two years later. See *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 467-608; *M.T.*, Vol. III, pp. 40-41; Eng. tr., pp. 65-66; *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 223b-224.
112. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 417.
113. *Ibid.*, f. 403.

(g) Miyān Qāsim Jaunpūrī:

A descendant of Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Ansārī, Miyān Qāsim Jaunpūrī was possessed of a unique state of ecstasy, and a strange rapture characterized the whole of his life. Nevertheless, he did not let this hinder him from carrying out the obligations enjoined by the *Sharī'a.* He was a leading light of the Qādirīyya and the Chishtīyya orders of his time and a great many miracles were attributed to him. There was no place whatsoever for worldly people in his heart. He was an exquisite poet and his verses were marked by elegance and grace. He died in 1039/1629-30.[114] His son Miyān Shaykh Ni'mat Allāh was given to the pursuit of Truth from his childhood. In 1007/1598-99 he came into contact with Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh who imparted to him the secret of Naqshbandī meditation. The effect of this esoteric exercise soon became apparent in his countenance and the signs of resignation and self-effacement began to emerge in his personality. The Khwāja always looked upon him favourably.[115]

(h) Mullā Aḥmad Gūjar.

He had a smattering of jurisprudence and knew something about other theological sciences also. It was during his student days that he heard of the Khwāja's virtues and became his disciple, and devoted all his time to the service of his preceptor. The Khwāja also treated him affectionately. After the Khwāja's death he returned to his native place where the local population thronged around him and insisted on initiation. Nevertheless, he shunned the company of worldly people and spent his time in deserted and desolate places. He died in 1027/1617-18.[116]

(i) Maulānā Ya'qūb Thānagī.

He was an outstanding, intelligent and good-natured student of Maulānā Jalāl Talawī of Lahore. After the completion of his education, when he heard the fame of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh's spiritual accomplishments, he abandoned everything and hastened to the company of the Khwāja, who initiated him into the Naqshbandīyya order. He experienced strange ecstasies and apocalypses and the Khwāja always called him a madman (*Dīwāna*). After the death of the Khwāja he continued to stay with the sons of his preceptor until 1025/1616-17, when he went to

114. *Ibid.*, f. 406.
115. *Ibid.*, f. 406*b*.
116. *Ibid.*, f. 378.

his native place, Thāna Bhīm, where he fell ill and died.[117]

(j) Sayyid Muṣṭafā Bāghīpat:

A pious and holy man, he sat for years on the prayer carpet of his ancestors and helped people establish communion with God. On hearing of the fame of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh he bade farewell to his own sainthood, hastened to see the Khwāja, and requested of him the *Nisba* of the Naqshbandiyya order. His request was granted and he soon gained proficiency in that order too. When satisfied with his attainments the Khwāja allowed him to go back and start afresh the task of guiding the people. He died in 1037/1627-28. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion:[118]

دیدی که چه سیدی مصطفی بود   تا چشم بهم زدی کجا رفت
آن قدوهٔ خاندان سادات   وان زبدهٔ بزم اولیا رفت
پیش نظر منست هر چند   از پیش نظر بآن سرا رفت
تاریخ وفات وی بجستم   از مردن وی چو ماجرا رفت
آهی گشید و گفت صادق   ای وای که سید مصطفی رفت

(k) Shaykh Murtaḍā Sanbhalī:

A disciple of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh, Shaykh Murtaḍā Sanbhalī was experienced and scholarly. He was very fond of *Ṣūfī* aphorisms and had a special style of their narration. Sometimes he composed verses too. When he first approached Khwāja Bāqī and requested initiation, the Khwāja told him that he deemed it imprudent to accept any new disciples but if he would, he could recommend him to Shaykh Tāj or Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. Nevertheless, he did not lose hope and instead wrote a versified letter to the Khwāja wherein the following couplet was also included:

بدلداران دیگر نیست کارم   مرا با دلستان خویش کار است

His letter brought home to the Khwāja his sincerity of purpose, humility and modesty, and he agreed to initiate him. Soon after he was initiated, the Naqshbandiyya *Nisba* so overpowered Shaykh Murtaḍā that

117. *Ibid.*, f. 377.
118. *Ibid.*, f. 368.

he traversed the distance of months in days and attained full perfection in a relatively short time. He died in 1046/1636-37. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion:[119]

شیخ ارباب طریقت   مرتضای اهل ذوق   آنکه محبوب محبت بوده و   مقبول عشق

در جوانی نفس را در راه حق چون کشته بود   گفت سال رحلتش پیرِ خرد : مقتول عشق

(l) Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn:

Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn bin Miyān Shaykh Quṭb-i 'Ālam learnt the external sciences from his father but he owed his spiritual enlightenment to Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh, who taught him different tracts on mysticism. Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn died in 1029/1619-20, in Burhanpur, whence his body was carried to Delhi and buried there.

(m) Shaykh 'Abd al-Laṭīf Gujarātī:

With two intermediaries between, he was a disciple of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh. He was very fond of the *Mathnawī* of Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and wrote an excellent commentary on that work. He also compiled a very lucid exposition of the *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqā'iq* [Ḥaqīqa?] which evoked great interest in the academic circles. Shāhjahān conferred on him the office of the controller of salaries for the whole of his empire *(Ṣāḥib-i tan-i mamālik-i Hindūstān)*, in which capacity he paid close attention to the welfare of the people and won over their hearts. At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* in 1048/1638-39, he still held that position.[120]

(n) Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ajōdhanī:

He was an elderly *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī, had met many divines, and was equally well versed in the theory and practice of *Ṣufism*.

119. *Ibid.*, f. 413*b*.

* *Ṣāḥib-i Tan-i Mamālik*, was probably the same as the *Dīwān-i Tan* who "was responsible for the payment of salaries to the servants of the state whether in cash or in the form of assignments upon the revenues of certain areas called *jāgīr* . . . It was his duty to prescribe an area which would yield the amount of the salary to the assignee so that neither he nor the state should be a loser." See Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, Karachi, 1966, p. 75.

120. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 423.

His attitude towards Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh was one of extreme devotion and veneration. The Khwāja also showed him great respect and regard. He died in 1019/1610-11.[121]

(3) Miscellaneous: The *Ṣūfīs*, The Scholars and the Poets

(i) The *Ṣūfīs*

(a) Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Bhutta.

He was an elderly Qādirī saint with a charitable disposition and a great love for the company of dervishes. He guided the people in the path of God for many years. Whoever called on him, was given food and a *buhlūlī** by the Shaykh. Having heard of his fame, Jahāngīr summoned him to his court. At the very sight of the Emperor, the Shaykh whispered some divine adjurations and clapped his hands. On being asked the reason for what he had done, he replied that he had prayed to keep misfortunes off. The Emperor let him go unmolested. According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, this was nothing less than a miracle, because very few dervishes could escape the wrath of that distrustful (*ghayyūr*) Emperor.[122] The Shaykh died in 1037/1627-28. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion:[123]

دریغا شیخ عبدالله بهته که در دوران خود بوده یگانه
درین عصر از شیوخ قادریه همان بوده است در عالم نشانه
ز جور روزگاران قطب ابدال بیک ساعت برون رفت از میانه
ازین ماتم جهانی گشت درهم فتاده غلغله خانه بخانه !
زپیر عقل جستم سال فوتش بگفتا وای از شیخ زمانه !

(b) Shaykh Ḥusayn Kamāngar.

A disciple of Shaykh Sulaymān Māndowī,[124] Shaykh Ḥusayn Kamāngar was a distinguished saint and a capable scholar in his own

121. *Ibid.*, f. 367*b*.

* A synonym for *Paisa* and *Dam*; a Mughul coin weighing 1 *tola*, 8 *mashas* and 7 *surkhs*, which constituted a fortieth part of the *Rupiya*. See Blochmann, p. 32.

122. *Ibid.*, f. 361*b*. Sarandāz Khān Qalmāq, an imperial *Manṣabdār* under Jahāngīr, was a devout follower of Shaykh Bhutta to whose *Khanqāh* he contributed a substantial financial assistance every year. See Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, ed. Syed Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1974, Vol. III, p. 55.

123. *Ṭabaqāt*, *f*. *361b*.

124. For his life, see *A.A.*, p. 215; *G.A.*, f. 154*b*; *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 113-6.

right. During the annual *'Urs** of his *Pīr* he visited Delhi regulary and stayed with the sons of Shaykh Sulaymān. Ṣādiq Hamadānī, who had met him several times, reports that during the year Khusrau rose in rebellion against his father, Shaykh Ḥusayn Jāmī[125] had warned the Emperor beforehand that a great calamity was in the offing. On hearing of this warning, Shaykh Ḥusayn Kamāngar conveyed it to some of the courtiers, who informed the Emperor accordingly, so that when the calamity did descend he staved it off successfully. Meanwhile, Khusrau raised the standard of revolt and the whole kingdom was plunged into chaos and disorder. But soon, as prophesied by Shaykh Kamāngar, the rebellion subsided and law and order was restored. The fulfilment of the Shaykh's prediction greatly enhanced his prestige, so that the king and his ministers also entered into the fold of his devotees. Shaykh Kamāngar died in 1018/1609-10.[126]

(c) **Shaykh Muṣṭafā Nānauta.**

Son of Shaykh Aḥmad Nānauta, he was also a disciple of Shaykh Sulaymān Māndowī. He was possessed of a very pleasant disposition and had a strong yearning for musical gatherings and spiritual ecstasies. His conversation beamed with zeal and enthusiasm, and at the same time was suggestive of his internal anguish and grief. He was an excellent poet. Ṣādiq Hamadānī had met him and profited from his spiritual blessings.[127]

Shaykh Muṣṭafā was survived by four sons. One of them, Sayyid Ṣābir 'Alī, whom Ṣādiq knew thoroughly, and who subsequently changed his spiritual robe for a courtly gown and joined the imperial army, was renowned for his altruistic nature and humane and kindly temperament. He was quite outstanding in the domain of mysticism and the pursuit

* "A term used for the ceremonies observed at the anniversary of the death of any celebrated saint or *murshid.*" Thomas Patrick Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam,* Lahore repr., n.d., p. 655.

125. Shaykh Ḥusayn Jāmī appears to have been a favourite saint of Jahāngīr. He informed Jahāngīr six months before his actual accession to the throne that he would become the king. Similarly, on the occasion of Khusrau's rebellion in 1605, he seems to have warned the Emperor beforehand. The Emperor, who had already sent a bounty of 5,000 rupees to the saint after his accession to the throne, after the suppression of the rebellion gave him twenty *lakhs* of *dams*, equivalent to 30,000 or 40,000 rupees, for the expenses of himself and his monastery and the dervishes who were with him. (See *Tuzuk*, Eng. tr., pp. 30, 46, 71-72). According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, the Emperor also bestowed upon him the *Pargana* of Chamari. Shaykh Ḥusayn died in 1023/1614-15 (*Ṭabaqāt*, f. 350).

126. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 362.

127. *Ibid.*, f. 363*b*.

of the divine path. He composed exquisite verses in both Persian and Hindī.[128]

(d) Shaykh Arzānī Patnagī:

He was known for his saintly nature. Some people had great faith in his spiritual achievements and even attributed miracles to him. During the reign of Jahāngīr he came to Delhi and visited the saints of the town. During his sojourn in Delhi, Ṣādiq Hamadānī met him more than once. But seemingly he failed to discern in him the many virtues for which people usually praised him. He died in Patna.[129]

(e) Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī:

He was a distinguished notable of Delhi who was known for his good moral character and charming personality. He died in 1018/1609. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion:[130]

آه ز بی مهری بخت سیاه وای ز بیدادی چرخ کبود

زبدهٔ سادات بعالم نماند قدوهٔ اولاد نبی رفت زود

سال وفاتش به مه و سال و روز هژدهم از ماه رجب رفته بود

(f) Shaykh Kamāl Mutawakkil:

He was a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām Nārnaulī (d. 997/1588-89)[131] and was adorned with many virtues. His life was characterized by complete resignation to the will of God. He distributed the offerings, as and when they were received, and did not keep even a single penny for the morrow. His fondness for the musical sessions was also excessive and once in them, he was so overwhelmed by ecstasy and danced so violently that even the young could not hold him, though in ordinary circumstances he could not move unaided because of weakness and old age. In keeping with the tradition of his spiritual preceptors, he never showed respect to, nor expected anything from anybody. He died in 1025/1616-17 and left two sons behind, Shaykh Bāyazīd and Shaykh Ṭāhā. The former died in the prime of youth while the latter not only succee-

128. *Ibid.*
129. *Ibid.*, f. 364*b*.
130. *Ibid.*
131. For notices of his life, see *M.T.*, Vol. III, pp. 26-28; Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 44-45; *G.A.*, f. 251*b*.

ded his father but also surpassed him in many ways, especially in resignation. In popularity also he left him far behind.[132]

From the day he succeeded his father, Shaykh Ṭāhā turned his back on all worldly creatures, and in keeping with the tradition of his predecessors, never showed any respect to divines either. His son Qā'im Muḥammad was also equally precocious and promising.[133]

(g) Shaykh Kamāl Kashkī:

He was the son of Shaykh Ḥājjī Dihlawī Qādirī, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq of Jhanjhāna and son of the latter's spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan, also known as Shāh Muḥammad Khayālī. He sat on the prayer carpet of his father and carried on the task of the spiritual refinement of his devotees for many years. Complete detachment from the world and utter resignation to the will of God, were the two hallmarks of his life. He died in 1024/1615-16. In the same year Shaykh Quṭb al-'Ālam, son of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz also passed away. The latter was quite distinguished in both esoteric and exoteric sciences. Ṣādiq Hamadānī discovered the chronogram of their death in the Persian phrase[134] 'آه شیخین دهلی'

(h) Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd:

A descedant of Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd was one of the earliest luminaries of the Naqshbandīyya order in India. He was celebrated for his spiritual accomplishments and his devotees were spread all over Transoxiana, Badakhshan and Kashmir. His achievements in the external sciences were also commendable. He was blessed with a knack of guiding people and miracles were attributed to him. He conferred the *Khilāfat* of the Naqshbandīyya order on many of his disciples and constructed a *Khānqāh* in Kashmir where he lived and guided the people.[135] He died at Lahore, in 1052/1642, and was buried near the Shālīmār gardens.[136]

132. *Tabaqāt*, f. 365.
133. *Ibid.*, f. 407*b*.
134. He composed a chronogram also on this occasion. See *ibid.*, f. 368; *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 144.
135. *Tabaqāt*, f. 396. *Bādshāh-nāma*, f. 421-421*b*.
136. Muḥammad Mu'īn al-Dīn, *Mir'at-i Ṭayyiba*, Raḍā Liby. Rampur MS., p. 236.

(i) Shaykh Pīr Mīrathī:

An aged saint of the Shaṭṭāriyya order, with a strong penchant for ecstasy and musical auditions, Shaykh Pīr Mīrathī took great pains to arrange the *'Urs* gatherings of his ancestors. He had met many saints and profited from their blessings. He was famous for his Hindī amulets that were believed to be very effective. He died in 1040/1630-31. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion:[137]

شیخ پیر آن سبب رونق ارباب غنا — آنکه از دولت فقرش بغناشد نغمه
تاکه آن شیخ طریقت زجهان گذران — رفت و از رفتن او پشت دوتا شد نغمه
رونق ساز چه شد زینت آواز کجاست — بکجا رفت غنا و بکجا شد نغمه ؟
گفت تاریخ وفاتش خرد دور اندیش : — وه که از مردن وی بی سروپا شد نغمه

(j) Sayyid Aḥmad Qādirī:

In the beginning of his mystic career he practised devotional exercises which bore fruit and he became very popular. Then he went to the Hijaz, and associated with Shaykh Muḥammad Bakrī.[138] Seemingly he was quite illiterate but his knowledge of mystic niceties was so adroit that hardly any scholar would know them. Having heard of his divine virtues, Akbar grew fond of him, summoned him to his court and made him an offer of service under the crown. He welcomed the offer, joined the imperial army, and became one of the nobles of the court. Subsequently, he rose to the office of the *Ṣadr,* which he occupied during the reign of Jahāngīr also. Aged and senile, in the time of Shāhjahān, he requested retirement, after which he settled in Delhi, where he died in 1039/1629-30. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion:[139]

کمال الحق میران سید احمد — که نام او بخشکی و تری رفت
چو عزم عالم جاوید بنمود — ازین عالم مبرا و بری رفت
ز پیر عقل جستم سال فوتش — خرد گفت : ولی قادری رفت

137. *Tabaqāt*, f. 402*b*.
138. Muḥammad Bakrī was a celebrated Egyptian scholar who visited Makkah every year and theological gatherings there. He died in 993/1585. (*Ṭabaqāt*, f. 239).
139. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 405*b*; *Walī-i Qādirī raft* (1041) exceeds by two the year of his death (1039) mentioned by Ṣādiq Hamadānī.

Sayyid Aḥmad Qādirī was survived by four sons. Two of them, Sayyid Hidāyat Allāh and Sayyid Faḍl Allāh, were well educated. They were known for their charitable dispositions and most of their time was spent in the company of scholars.[140]

(k) Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn:

He was the quintessence of piety, purity and politeness. Most of his time was occupied with meditation and recitation from the Qur'ān. He led a life of complete detachment from the world. His benedictions were reputed to have possessed a healing effect and a capability to accelerate the fulfilment of prayers.[141]

(l) Shaykh Sayyid Ghulām Muḥammad Nānauta.

The son of Shaykh Ghulām Muṣṭafa Nānauta, Sayyid Ghulām Muḥammad Nānauta, had a strong penchant for ecstasy and mystical auditions and it was under the spell of one of these ecstasies that he ultimately died in 1041/1631-32. Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following chronogram on this occasion:[142]

چند ای نفس می شوی مغرور   بچنین عز و جاه و اقبالت

عاقبت زیر خاک باید رفت   گر ز گردون گذشت اجلالت

دورهٔ چرخ صد هزاران گشت   چه ز تو بهتر و چه امثالت

یاد کن یاد کن ازان روزی   که بگریند بر تو اطفالت

دیده بگشا ز خواب و چشم بمال   که چسان کرده چرخ پامالت

کو غلام محمد آن شیخی   که ازو بود حل اشکالت

فخر اولاد سید کونین   صاحب وجد و صاحب حالت

در غم او بعقل میگفتم   کای زیاده ز حصر افضالت

سال تاریخ فوت او بر گو   که وقوفی بود از آن سالت

بعد یکسال عقل دور اندیش   نعره زد ، گفت : فات فی الحالت

140. *Ibid.*, f. 406.
141. *Ibid.*, f. 406*b*.
142. *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 408-408*b*.

(m) Sayyid Muḥammad Gūjarātī:

He traced his descent from Shāh 'Ālam Gujarātī[143] who was a *Quṭb* of his time and was celebrated for his spiritual attainments and miraculous deeds. Sayyid Muḥammad was possessed of many virtues and good qualities. His warm disposition and genteel manners had won him many friends which included people of all ages and from all walks of life. He was the author of many useful books and treatises. His verses were also beautiful. He died in 1042/1632-33, during the reign of Shāhjahān.[144] He was succeeded by Sayyid Jalāl Gujarātī whose pre-eminence as a saint was, according to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, as much beyond doubt as his descent from the Holy Prophet. Miracles were also attributed to him. He appears to have been in the beginning of his saintly career at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, and according to Ṣādiq it looked as though he would become a lamp that would illumine the whole universe.[145]

(m) Mīr Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn:

A Sayyid with authentic pedigree, possessed of all the elements of formal as well as essential knowledge, Mīr Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn had a unique schedule in his everyday life which he stood by very scrupulously. He started his day with meditation and self-scanning (*Muḥāsiba*) which was followed by the recitation from the Qur'ān and the saying of prayers which continued until the middle hour between sunrise and the meridian (*Chāsht*). Then he started the perpetual recitation of the *Darūd*, a solicitation invoking the mercy of God for the Prophet Muḥammad and his descendants. Having finished with it, before retiring for a siesta, he partook of his food in the company of dervishes and the poor. After the siesta was over, he renewed his ablutions and got ready for the afternoon prayers. After the prayer he sat in the company of divines and even during his association with them he made sure not to be forgetful of the Almighty for a fraction of a second.[146]

(o) Shaykh Kamāl Māndowī:

He was a grandson to Shaykh Sulaymān Māndowī. Shaykh Sulay-

143. His original name was Sayyid Muḥammad but generally he was known as Shāh 'Ālam. He was a very popular saint. He died in 880/1475, at the age of sixty-three and was buried in Rasūlābād, a suburb of Ahmadabad, Gujarat (*G.A.*, f. 99).
144. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 409.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *Ibid.*, f. 410.

mān fathered two sons, namely Shaykh Dā'ūd and Shaykh Maḥmūd. Shaykh Dā'ūd died in the prime of his youth while his brother acquired full perfection under the care of his father and outlived him. On his death his son, Shaykh Kamāl stepped into his shoes and took over the task of disseminating the spiritual beatitude of his illustrious grandfather. He was well known for his command of both esoteric and exoteric sciences. Especially in the latter his virtuosity was commendable. He died in 1033/1623-24.[147] Ṣādiq Hamadānī composed the following two chronograms on this occasion:

شیخ کمال ماندوی کز کف جود و همتش

بر در آستان او حاتم و معن* سد گدای

بس که شیوع میمنت کرد زمان او بخلق

یاد نمیکند کسی دولت سایهٔ همای

بود بفضل ایزدی قدوهٔ اصفیای وقت

یافت ازینجهان نجات ، ساخته در بهشت جای

در پی سال فوت او سر بنهاد فکرتم

بر سر زانوی خیال بر در آستان رای

پیر خرد زبان گشاد و گفت که شیخ قطب بود

هاتف غیب نعره زد : شیخ کمال های های

❋

او بود امان خلق از غم   او بود بزهر دهر تریاق

گوئی که فرشتهٔ زمین بود   آن نیک سرشت پاک اخلاق

تاریخ وفات او خرد گفت :   ای وای که قطب رفت ز آفاق

Shaykh Kamāl was survived by four sons, Shaykh Abū Muḥammad, Shaykh Abū Aḥmad, Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim and Shaykh Abū Sa'īd. Shaykh Abū Muḥammad was the eldest among his brothers and succeeded his father. Although he was a saint, he also possessed all the mundane glories and honours as well. His esteem was very high with Shahjahān, who conferred on him the office of the *Ṣadr* of Delhi. By his

147. *Ibid.*, f. 362*b*.

* Ma'an bin Zā'ida bin 'Abd Allāh al-Shaybānī, nicknamed Abū al-Walīd (d. 152/769), a renowned Arab governor of Sistan, proverbial for his liberality. See Anonymous, *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, Tehran, n.d., pp. 143-47.

judicious policies and evenhanded dispensation of justice he fully justified his appointment to that exalted position. The fame of his generosity, magnanimity and selflessness spread far and wide. He entertained members of the ruling class and the learned at magnificent feasts and was respected by all sections of people.[148]

Shaykh Abū Aḥmad fasted continually and was renowned for his piety and strong moral character. Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim was possessed of a very pleasant nature and held a *Manṣab* at the imperial court. Shaykh Abū Sa'īd was employed in the army. His generous nature and piety were fully discernible in his countenance.[149] All the four sons of Shaykh Kamāl were alive at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* in 1048/1638-39, and its author, who had cordial relations with that family, appears to have known each of them individually.

(p) Khwāja 'Abū al-A'lā Aḥrārī:

A descendant of Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Aḥrār, Khwāja Abū al-A'lā, was initially employed in the imperial army but when divine ecstasy possessed him he turned his back on government service and became a disciple of his father-in-law, Mīr 'Abd Allāh Aḥrārī. Mīr 'Abd Allāh spared no effort to explore his potentialities and gradually transformed him into a perfect *Ṣūfī*. By the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* spiritually he had become so strong that whoever approached him, came to be possessed by ecstasy and chose to stay with him voluntarily.[150]

(ii) The Scholars

(a) Mullā Muḥibb 'Alī Sindhī:

Mullā Muḥibb 'Alī, who flourished during the reign of Shāhjahān was a renowned scholar and saint. He hailed from the Kūhbar tribe of the Chaghatā'īs. His grandfather, Mirzā 'Alī Bēg, came to India in the company of Bābur Pādishāh and laid down his life in the battle against the Afghāns. His son, Ṣadr al-Dīn later went to Thatta with the army of Humāyūn and subsequently settled there. Mullā Muḥibb 'Alī was also born there. Although he lost his father at an early age, the Mullā did not lose hope and continued with his studies. Later on, when Thatta acceded to the Mughul empire, he came to India with Mirzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān and settled in Burhanpur. At the young age of thirty years he acquired a taste for seclusion and decided to go on pilgrimage.

148. *Ibid.*, f. 409.
149. *Ibid.*, f. 363.
150. *Ibid.*, f. 415*b*.

On his way to the Hijaz, at Surat, he met with Shaykh Faḍl al-Allāh Burhānpūrī who conferred on him a spiritual robe and allowed him to enrol disciples. On his return from the Hijaz, the Mullā settled at Burhanpur. When Shāhjahān went on the first expedition to the Deccan after his succession to the throne, he joined the imperial camp and accompanied the Emperor.[151]

Mullā Muḥibb 'Alī was a very enthusiastic preacher of Islam. Whosoever embraced Islam at his hands he took to the imperial court and procured for him grants and monetary rewards. According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Shāhjahān was so enamoured with the Mullā's enthusiasm that he decreed that whosoever from amongst the infidels (*Kuffār*) wanted to accept Islam should do so at the hands of the Mullā. Consequently, the Mullā converted a great many people to Islam and procured for them stipends and pensions from the imperial court.[152]

In 1047/1637-38, when India was hit by a severe drought, the Emperor asked the pious and devout to offer a public prayer for rainfall. Among others, the Mullā was also called upon to do so.[153] At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, he was still alive.

(b) Afḍal Khān 'Allāmī:

Before his appointment as the Prime Minister to the Emperor Shāhjahān, he was generally known as Mirzā Shukr Allāh, and most of his time was spent in imparting instruction to his students, in Burhanpur. He taught for several years and many of his students rose to great eminence. When Shāhjahān appointed him as his Prime Minister (*Jumlat al-Mulk*) he dedicated himself to the care and well-being of the people. His pleasant manners and axiomatic virtues were liked by everybody. Ṣādiq Hamadānī remarks that if the Prime Ministers like Niẓām al-Mulk and Ibn al-'Abbād, who were celebrated for their patronage of learning, were alive in his time, they would have learnt the art of administration and running the government from Afḍal Khān 'Allāmī.[154]

151. *Bādshāh-nāma*, MS., f. 422.
152. *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 412*b*-413.
153. *Bādshāh-nāma*, MS., f. 412*b*.
154. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 415. He was a pupil of Mīr Ibrāhīm Hamadānī and Mīr Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī. Shāhjahān chose him as his Prime Minister and bestowed upon him the *Manṣab* of 7,000 (*Bādshāh-nāma*, f. 424b).

(c) Maulānā Muḥammad Fāḍil Badakhshī:

He learnt the traditional and ratiocinative sciences from Maulānā Ṣādiq Ḥalwā'ī and his contemporaries in Samarqand and Bukhara and became so distinguished in them that very few scholars in Iran, Transoxiana and India could match his attainments. In mysticism he got his initiation at the hand of Maulānā Khwājagī Amkanagī. According to some reports, he was allowed by his preceptor to enrol disciples too, but he always concealed his spiritual achievements under the guise of external sciences. He was alive at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*.[155]

(d) Qaḍī Aslam Harawī:

Born in Harat, at an early age he left for Bukhara, whence, after the completion of his studies in theological sciences, he came to India during the reign of Jahāngīr. The latter appointed him the *Qāḍī* of the imperial camp. This office he retained even during the days of Shāhjahān and he led all the five congregational prayers in which the Emperor also participated.[156] At the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, he was the *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt* (Chief Justice) of India. Ṣādiq Hamadānī admired his piety, sense of justice and his readiness to help others. According to him, the Qāḍī was a great source of strength to the Muslims.[157]

(e) Mullā 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkōtī:

He was one of the most pre-eminent scholars of his time. He received his early education at the feet of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī and during the reign of Jahāngīr confined himself to a simple and austere life in Sialkot. When Shāhjahān ascended the throne, he invited the Mullā to his court and bestowed honours on him. Thereafter, the Mullā occasionally visited the court, but he mainly occupied himself with the teaching at Sialkot and Lahore, where students from different parts of the country thronged to his lectures and benefited from his erudition and scholarship.[158] According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, the Mullā entertained great regard for the *Ṣūfīs* and dervishes and his attitude towards them was characterized by extreme modesty.[159]

155. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 416*b*. He was a pupil of Mullā Mirzā Jān Shīrāzī and Mullā Yūsuf Kūsi. He also received instruction from Mullā Jamāl Talawī of Lahore (*Bādshāh-nāma*, f. 425).
156. *Ibid.*, f. 424b; *Mirāt al-'Ālam*, MS., f. 454.
157. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 417*b*.
158. *Bādshāh-nāma*, f. 425. Also see *Mirāt al-'Ālam*, MS, f.455.
159. *Ṭabaqāt*, f.416*b*.

(f) Shaykh Abū al-Makāram:

Son of Shaykh Mubārak Nagāurī and brother of Abū al-Faḍl and Faydī, Shaykh Abū al-Makāram was an orthodox Muslim. In contrast to his brothers and other members of family, he had a strong inclination towards probity, piety and fear of God. His accomplishments were, however, mainly in the external sciences. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān in the Hanafīte tradition which enjoyed great popularity. He died in 1044/1634-35.[160]

(g) Miyān Muḥammad Shākir Dihlawī:

A descendant of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz Dihlawī, Miyān Shākir had learnt the external sciences from Shaykh Quṭb 'Ālam, son of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz, and was considered to be one of the most eminent scholars of Delhi. He was celebrated for the purity and propriety of his disposition. But lack of courtesy and politeness badly marred his personality. Nevertheless, his students were very fond of him and in attendance his *Madrasa* was unparalleled in the whole of Delhi.[161]

(h) Shaykh Muḥammad Mudarris Dihlawī:

He was celebrated for his erudition and learning. He exhibited extraordinary zeal for the education and welfare of his students who invariably rose to great heights and brought a good name to their teacher. His father, Shaykh Buhlūl, was famous for his excellent attainments in *Ḥadīth* whereas Shaykh Muḥammad Mudarris specialized in other sciences.[162]

(i) Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī Akbarābadī.

He had an admirable knowledge of the Arabic classics and was well accomplished in *Jafr*,[163] arithmetic and mathematics. He wrote many treatises on these subjects which were looked upon as standard works. His *Tafsīr* of the Qur'ān was particularly held in high esteem.[164]

160. *Ibid.*, f.419, margin.
161. *Ibid.*, f.419b.
162. *Ibid.*, f.420.
163. See *supra*.
164. *Ṭabaqāt*, f.420.

(j) Mīr Shams al-Dīn 'Alī Khalkhālī:

He was a very distinguished scholar of his time. Shāhjahān appointed him in one of the *Madrasas* of Akbarābād, where he taught for a short period before his death in 1040/1630-31. At the instance of his friends he wrote a treatise on the *Mathnawī* of Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and this, according to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, superseded in depth and dimension all earlier works on the subject.[165]

(k) Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn:

He completed his education and mystic training at the feet of his father, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn, who was one of the leading saints of his time. When his father died the mantle of succession fell on his shoulders. Equipped as he was with the knowledge of the theory and practice, he discharged this responsibility with great efficiency and integrity. According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, he had success written in his face.[166]

(l) Shaykh Ḥamīd Gūjar:

Shāhjahān had appointed him as a teacher in one of the *Madrasas* at Lahore. He was quite distinguished in external sciences until suddenly possessed by divine ecstasy. Then he abandoned teaching and started wandering in search of saints and divines.[167]

(m) Shaykh Rafī' al-Dīn Kanbō:

He hailed from a family of nobles, in Delhi. In erudition and learning he was considered to be on a par with such reputed scholars as Muḥammad Mudarris and Shaykh Mubārak Kanbō. He acquired the knowledge of traditional sciences at the feet of Shaykh Muḥammad Fā'iḍ[168] and Shaykh Maḥbūb Allāh. He himself also imparted instruction for some time but at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* he was possessed by mystical notions, had abandoned teaching and used to spend his time in the perpetual recitation of mystical formulae on the bank of the river Jamna.[169]

165. *Ibid.*, f.420*b*.
166. *Ibid.*
167. *Ibid.*, f.421.
168. See *supra*.
169. *Ṭabaqāt*, f.421*b*.

(n) Shaykh Muḥammad Hāshim:

The son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, Shaykh Muḥammad Hāshim was a distinguished scholar. He was deeply read in *Ḥadīth, Tafsīr, Siyar, Tawārīkh,* and *Asmā' al-rijāl* but his attainments in the last were particularly commended by his father. Other sons of the Shaykh, namely Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī and Shaykh 'Alī Muḥammad, were also distinguished scholars. Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī[170] remembered the Holy Qur'ān by heart and had a very sound knowledge of Arabic and Persian classics. Shaykh 'Alī Muḥammad spent his time in academic pursuits[171] and had compiled a dictionary[172] which was a compendium of all the earlier dictionaries.[173]

(o) Ḥakīm Masīḥ al-Zamān:

A notable scholar, endowed with a charitable disposition and an attractive personality, Ḥakīm Masīḥ al-Zamān was equally popular with scholars and *Ṣūfīs*, and lavished his favours on them equally. His poetry was of the highest order and as a physician, according to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, he was comparable to Galen and Hippocrates. Nevertheless, he had no pretensions whatsoever and as far as possible, did not accept any patients. On his way to the Hijaz, for pilgrimage, he composed the following couplet while on board the ship:

کشتی چه که دوزخی فسرده
یک تابوت و هزار مرده

The following couplets also were composed by him:

کم لذتم و قیمتم افزون ز شمار است
گوئی ثمر پیش رس باغ وجودم

170. The name of this son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī is not included in the genealogical table of the Shaykh's family. See *Mir'at al-Ḥaqā'iq*, p. 131.

171. For his works see *ibid.*, p. 127. The dictionary mentioned by Ṣādiq Hamadānī is not included in the list.

172. The *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* or *Khazā'in al-Durar* is meant. Its manuscripts are preserved in the India Office Library, London, and in the Punjab University Library, Lahore. The author compiled it on the instance of his son, Shaykh Abū al-Mafākhir, and on completion, presented it to his elder brother, Shaykh Nūr al-Haqq *(infra.)*. It was not dedicated to any 'Maulawī Khān' as alleged by Shahryar Naqawī in his *Farhang-nawīsī-i Fārsī dar Hind-o Pākistān* (Tehran 1341 H.Sh.), p. 89.

173. *Ṭabaqāt*, f.422.

ما بیدلان بباغ جهان همچو برگ گل
پهلوی یکدگر همه در خون نشسته ایم
عرق بر عارضش ز اعجاز حسن است
که بر آتش کسی شبنم ندیده است

He was alive at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*.[174]

(p) Mullā Farīd Munajjim:

He was a notable scholar with a sound grounding in occult sciences such as *Jafr*[175] and astrology. He wrote many tracts on these subjects. Towards the end of his life he compiled an almanac[176] which fully exhibited his erudition and learning. He dedicated this work to Shāhjahān.[177]

(q) Sayyid Hamza Sirhindī:

He had studied the science of *Ḥadīth* under Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. After obtaining permission to transmit this science to others, he went to his native town, Sirhind, where he spent most of him time in teaching and other academic pursuits.[178]

(r) Mullā Ḥaydar Kashmīrī:

In *Ḥadīth* he was a student of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. During his long stay at the *Khānqāh* of the Muḥaddith, besides other books he studied the *Mishkāt* and the *Saḥīḥayn* also, and received permission to transmit these texts. Then he went to Kashmir and set himself to the task of spreading the theological sciences in that region. Teaching and guidance of the people occupied most of his time and he was considered to be the greatest scholar of rational and traditional

174. *Ibid.*, ff. 422*b*-423.
175. See *supra*.
176. The India Office MS. (f.423b) of the *Ṭabaqāt* reads 'zījī' while the British Museum one (Or. 1673, f. 320b), refers to this work as 'Ta'rīkhī' and that is correct. Mullā Farīd Munajjim compiled the history of the first ten years of Shāhjahān's reign and named it *Shāhjahān-nāma*. An excellent copy of this work (MS. 283) is preserved in the Sālar Jang Museum and Library, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India.
177. *Ṭabaqāt*, f.423*b*.
178. *Ibid.*, f.422. For other students of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī see my article '*Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi ka Silsila-i Talamidha*'. *Oriental College Magazine*, Punjab University, XLVIII (March-June, 1972), pp. 309-351

studies in Kashmir.[179]

(s) Mullā Abū al-Khayr Sirhindī:

Mullā Abū al-Khayr son of Shaykh Bāyazīd, a scholar renowned for his accomplishments in the art of imparting instruction, was an expert both in traditional and speculative sciences. Like his father, he was also a very skilful teacher. His lessons induced deep interest and inspiration in his students and as such, he was the most popular teacher in Sirhind.[180]

(iii) The Poets

(a) Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Karnālī:

Son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Dihlawī, a scholar who flourished during the reign of Jahāngīr, Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Karnālī was quite well versed in poetry, prosody, rhyme and *Mu'ammā*. His skill in the latter was particularly remarkable. His command of language and versatility of expression were fully exhibited in his poetry and *belles-lettres*. The father and son both were excellent poets. The following couplets were composed by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Karnālī, who used the sobriquet of Fattāḥī in his verses:

در بهار هر خزان صد نو بهار از حسن اوست

جلوهٔ گلزار و ناز باغبان درکار نیست

❋

خوش جنون ما و خوش احوال ما کان زلف یار

در چمن سنبل شد و در پای ما زنجیر شد

❋

بکنج کلبه بگذارید ما جمع پریشان را

که مرغان قفس پرورد را گلشن بود زندان

He died in 1044/1634-35. Since he was an old and close friend of Ṣādiq Hamadānī, the latter was deeply grieved at his death and composed the following verses on this occasion:[181]

179. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 422*b*.
180. *Ibid*., f. 422-422*b*.
181. *Ṭabaqāt*, f. 429*b*.

شیخ فتاحی کرنالی که بود　　در لطافت رونق کرنالیان
در عبادتها عدیم المثل بود　　در فضایل بود یکتای زمان
صوم داؤدی و ذکری نیم شب　　داشتی آن مرد عابد جاودان
تا که از ملک فنا بادی و زید　　همچو گل پژمرده و رفت از بوستان
سال فوت او طلب کردم ز عقل　　شد سراسیمه خرد از درد آن
چو شنید این واقعه از روی غم　　گفت صادق : آه شیخ عابدان

(b) Jalāy:

He was a native of Delhi and was closely related to Mullā Ammānī Rammāl, the geomancer.[182] His actual name was Jalāl and initially he used to employ the sobriquet of Jalālī in his poetry. But with the passage of time, when his poetry improved and gained some lustre, he changed his pseudonym to Jalāy. His knowledge of Arabic was shallow but he had studied the works of Khāqānī and some tracts on prosody, rhyme, and *Mu'ammā* at the feet of Khwāja 'Abd Allāh.

In poetry he was a pupil of Mullā Dilbarī[183] and spent much time in his company. Subsequently, he left the Mullā far behind in that art. At first he was a simple soldier in the service of Nawwāb Afḍal Khān 'Allāmī, but when the Nawwāb noticed his brilliance he included him among his associates. Before long he became a close companion of the Nawwāb. Jalāy was alive at the time of the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt.*[184]

VI. HIS WORKS

(i) The *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn*

The *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Dihlawī Kashmīrī Hamadānī is a hagiological work dealing with the lives of the Muslim *Ṣūfīs* who lie buried at Delhi. The city of Delhi, situated on the left bank of the river Jamna, is the throbbing heart of the South Asian Subcon-

182. See *ibid.*, ff. 433-433*b*.
183. See *Ṭabaqāt*, British Museum MS., ff.327b-328.
184. *Ibid.*, ff. 328-328*b*.

tinent, as it has been for centuries past. At first a fortified outpost of the Ghūrid empire, consequent upon the success of the Muslim thrust to the east, 'with the twin advantages of being a springboard for further advance and a link with the power base in the north-west', it became the natural centre of the Ghūrid successor state of Aybak (d. 607/1210) and his Slave dynasty successors.[1] Following in the train of the advancing armies as spiritual advisors to the soldiery and as colonizers of the new territories, many *Ṣūfīs* made their way to India and occupied themselves with the Herculean task of the conversion of non-believers and the worldly-minded within the Muslim community itself.[2] The subsequent devastation of the Central Asia, Khurasan, Sistan, Mazandaran, the Persian districts of Iraq, and Azarbayjan by Chingīz Khān (603-24/1206-27) and his myrmidons,[3] and then the sack of Baghdad (656/1258) at the hands of Hulāgū Khān (654-63/1256-65) brought new tides of immigrants to India. These repeated influxes of Muslim elites from the traditional lands of Islam into India immensely enriched the social, cultural and intellectual life of this country and went a long way to help it establish its own customs, traditions and norms in different spheres of life. The liberal treatment which these new arrivals received at the hands of the local rulers and what they thought of Delhi is best illustrated by the following evidence of Minhāj-i Sirāj, the noted historian of early medieval India, who himself migrated to Delhi in the wake of the Mongol inroads into Transoxiana. Commenting on the reign of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36), he writes:

> Towards men of various sorts and degrees, *Kāzīs, Imāms, Muftīs*, and the like, and to *darweshes* and monks, landowners and farmers, traders, strangers and travellers from great cities, his benefactions were universal. From the very outset of his reign, and the dawn of the morning of his sovereignty, in the congregating of eminent doctors of religion and law, venerable Sayyids, Maliks, Amīrs, Ṣadrs, and other great men, the Sulṭān used, yearly, to expend about ten millions; and people from various parts of the world he gathered together at the capital city of Dilhī, which is the seat of government of Hindūstān, and the centre of the circle of Islām, the sanctuary of the mandates and the inhibitions of the law, the kernel of the Muḥammadī religion, the marrow of the Aḥmadī belief, and the tabernacle of the eastern parts of the universe – Guard it, O God, from calamities, and molestation! This city, through the number of

1. T.G.P. Spear, 'The City in South Asia: Delhi – the Stop-Go Capital', (paper presented at a seminar held at the Centre of South Asian Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, on February 2, 1976).
2. Fritz Mieir, 'The Mystic Path; The Sufi Tradition', *The Muslim World*, ed. Bernard Lewis (London 1976), p. 125.
3. Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. Karl Jahn (Dordrecht-Holland 1968), p. 246.

> grants, and unbounded munificence of that pious monarch, became the retreat and resting-place of the learned, the virtuous, and the excellent of the various parts of the world; and those who, by the mercy of God, the most High, escaped from the toils of the calamities sustained by the provinces and cities of 'Ajam, and misfortunes caused by the [eruption of the] infidel Mughals, made the capital — the asylum of the universe — of that sovereign their asylum, refuge, resting-place, and point of safety; and up to the present day, those same rules are observed and remain unchanged, and such may they ever continue![4]

Baranī, another reliable authority on early medieval India, while enumerating the names of forty-six distinguished scholars of the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī (695-715/1296-1316) writes that each one of them was considered to be the greatest scholar of his time and had no peer in Bukhara, Samarqand, Baghdad, Egypt, Khwarazm, Damascus, Tabriz, Isfahan, Rūm and Rayy.[5] The presence of such unique scholars in Delhi, who specialized in the Qur'ānic exegesis, jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence (*Uṣūl-i fiqh*), theology, logic, dialectics, and rhetoric,[6] raised this city to the stature of one of the traditional and long-standing centres of Islamic learning and the *Jamā'at Khāna* of the great Chishtī saint, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Aulīyā' (d. 725/1325), with a vast number of devotees spread all over the country, gave it an unprecedented air of piety, sanctity and consecration.[7] Poets as great as Amīr Khusrau (d. 725/1325) and Ḥasan-i Sijzī 'Alā' (d. 729/1328) adorned the cultural gatherings of the capital[8] and specialists in different arts and crafts were also in great abundance in the town. It was with this background that the progeny of those who only a generation before had migrated to this land of wonders, began to sing its glories and extol its virtues.[9]

Notwithstanding locational changes, the transfer of the seat of government, for short intervals, to Daulatabad, Agra, and Lahore, and occasional phases of its destruction, decline and downfall, Delhi, on the whole, maintained its glory, greatness and grandeur and continued to symbolize the hopes and aspirations of succeeding generations of

4. Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn Abū-'Umar-i-'Usmān, *Tabakāt-i Nāsirī*, Eng. tr. Major H.G. Raverty (Delhi 1970 repr.), Vol. I, pp. 598-599; *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, Persian text, ed. Abdul Hai Habibi (Kabul 1963), Vol. I, pp. 440-441.
5. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (Calcutta 1860-62), p. 352.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 353.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 343-347.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 359-60.
9. Amīr Khusrau Dihlawī, *Qirān al-Sa'dayn* (Nawalkishore edn. 1871), pp. 22-27; Muhammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* (Calcutta 1935), pp. 182-187.

Muslims, for whom it was not a mere city but the cradle of their culture, the repository of their traditions and the embodiment of their civilisation. The monuments and memorials, and the ruins and remnants[10] of this gorgeous city inspired the author of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* as well. But what stirred his imagination most was the spiritual aspect of the splendour of this city, with its layer upon layer of history and tradition and its long record of cultural life. To quote him:

> . . .everyone, even with a little bit of knowledge, knows for certain that, after the Two Holy Sanctuaries of Islam *Ḥaramayn-i Sharīfayn),* if nobility and greatness can be claimed by other cities, Dilhī is the first and foremost among them. The common folk *('Awāmm)* call it a miniature Makkah *(Khurd-i Makka)* while the sagacious *(Khwāṣṣ)* do not entertain any doubt whatsoever about its greatness . . . A discerning person once remarked that [as far as its sanctity was concerned] the whole of Dilhī was just like a mosque . . . . .[11]

It was with this conception of Delhi in mind that Ṣādiq Hamadānī had long contemplated writing a book about the lives of the *Ṣūfīs* buried there. After much procrastination, sometime in 1023/1614,[12] at last he embarked upon writing the *Kalimāt* and completed it the same year, on Friday 23 Rajab/29 August 1614.[13]

The book starts with a doxology which is followed by a brief description of the motives of the author in undertaking the project and the sources he mainly relied on. He also gives an explanation of the tedious method of obtaining the year of the commencement and completion of the book by undoing its chronogrammatic name, the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn.* Then, in the course of a *Muqaddima,* he tries to establish the pre-eminence and superiority of Delhi over the other cities of the world.[14] Thereafter, the accounts follow of:

10. For a detailed account of the Muslim monuments in Delhi see Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-Sanādīd,* ed. Khālid Naṣīr Hāshimī (Delhi 1965 repr.); Carr Stephen, *Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi* (Allahabad 1967 repr.); India: Archaeological Survey, *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments (Delhi Province)* (4 vols., Calcutta 1916-22); Bashīr al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāqi'āt-i Dār al-Ḥukūmat-i Dihlī* (3 vols., Delhi 1919); Percival Spear, *Delhi: A Historical Sketch* (London 1945 repr.); Tatsuro Yamamato, et. al., *Delhi Architectural Remains of the Delhi Sultanate Period* (3 vols., Tokyo 1967-70).
11. *Kalimāt,* Persian Text, p. 4.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

(1) Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Aūshī, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Hasan Sijzī; reached Delhi via Multan and Lahore; contemporary with Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish; died in a state of musical ecstasy, on 14 Rabī' I, 633/27 November, 1235; nine of his mystical aphorisms and a notice of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36) follow.

(2) Shaykh 'Alī Sigzī, a relative of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sijzī; contemporary with Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish; according to the *Dalīl al-'Arifīn*, Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn died on 6 Rajab 633/16 March 1236, while *Sayr al-Auliya* gives 617/1220-21 as the year of his death; Ṣādiq Hamādānī prefers the former; Shaykh 'Alī's grave is situated in the vicinity of the Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn's tomb.[15]

(3) Khwāja Tutmājī, son of Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār; contemporary of Sulṭāna Raḍiyya; died after the Khwāja and was buried beside his tomb; notice of Sulṭāna Raḍiyya (634-37/1236-40).

(4) Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, and, according to some, a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid bin Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ghaznawī; *Shaykh al-Islām* of Delhi in the reign of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn; his tomb is to the east of the Ḥauḍ-i Shamsī.

(5) Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Dihlawī, a converted Hindū who accepted Islam at the hands of Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn, when the latter came to Delhi in the wake of that city's conquest by Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn Sām.

(6) Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nagaurī, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī and, according to some, a disciple of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Samarqandī; author of a book called the *Ṭawāli'-i Shumūs*; very fond of *Samā'*; died on 9 Ramaḍān 643/28 January 1246; buried by the side of Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn's tomb; Ten of his aphorisms also reproduced, followed by an account of the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh (639-44/1242-46), son of Rukn al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (633-34/1236).

(7) Shaykh Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn, son of Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn.

15. The notice of Khwāja Tutmājī in the Bankipore MS of the *Kalimāt* is preceded by that of Shaykh 'Alī Sigzī, but the cataloguer has missed it. See Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore* (Patna 1925), Vol. VIII (Persian MSS.), p. 35.

(8) Qāḍī Sa'd and Qāḍī 'Imād, disciples of Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn, by whose side they lie buried.

(9) Shaykh Mu'izz al-Dīn Dihlawī, a disciple of Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār; buried beside the tomb of his preceptor.

(10 Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn, a contemporary of Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn.

(11) Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Abū al-Mu'ayyid, grandson of Shams al-'Arifīn; received spiritual training from his father and maternal uncle; also profited from his association with Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid bin Shaykh Aḥmad Ghaznawī; Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn had great regard for him; probably buried by the side of the tomb of his mother, Bībī Sāra, situated near the Namāzgāh-i Kuhna.

(12) Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Abī al-Khayr As'ad-i Balkhī, a contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban; received spiritual instruction from Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Marghīnānī; Maulānā Kamāl al-Dīn, one of the teachers of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā', was his disciple; his tomb is to the east of Ḥauḍ-i Shamsī and is known as Takhta-i Nūr.

(13) Shaykh Turk Biyābānī, a disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī; his tomb is situated outside the Qal'a-i Fīrūzābād, on the road to Qadam Sharīf, notice of Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh.

(14) Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn, a contemporary of Sulṭān Naṣīr al-Dīn, son of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish; author of the *Jāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt*; tomb not traceable.

(15) Maulānā Mu'īn al-Dīn 'Imrānī, a renowned scholar who flourished in the reign of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq; wrote glosses on the *Kanz*, the *Miṣbāḥ*, and the *Ḥusāmī*; Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā was his disciple.

(16) Khwāja Muḥammad Mū'īna-dūz, a disciple of Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn, and a devotee of Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn; his tomb is by the side of the Khwāja's.

(17) Maulānā Majd al-Dīn Ḥājjī Jājarmī,[16] a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Shihab al-Dīn Suhrawardī; Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish conferred upon him the office of the *Ṣadr*, which he held for two years; died on 12 Dhū al-Ḥijja. One aphorism quoted.

(18) Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār; known for his fondness of *Samā'*; died at the age of one hundred years, in the reign of Sulṭan 'Alā' al-Dīn and buried by the side of his preceptor's tomb. Notice of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn (695-715/1296-1316).

(19) Khwāja Bust; came to Delhi in the wake of its conquest by Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn Ghūrī; grave to the north of the Khwāja's, on the upper hand side. Notice of Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn.

(20) Bābā Ḥājjī Rūzbih, a very early saint of Delhi; during the days of Rā'ē Pithaura [Pirthwī Rāj Chauhān] he lived in a ditch of the fort, and converted many infidels to Islam; his tomb is near the old Namāzgāh.

(21) Shaykh Imām al-Dīn Abdāl, sister's son of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn *Mard-i Ghayb;* performed ascetic austerities under the care of Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn but obtained the robe of *Khilāfat* from Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī; Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' did not listen to *Samā'* in his absence; died at an advanced age, in 680/1281-82.

(22) Shaykh Rājī Dihlawī, a *Khalīfa* of Badī 'al-Dīn Shāh Madār; Sayyid Jumman Bihārī, Qāḍī Maḥmūd, Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn Parkāla-i Ātish, Qāḍī Muṭahhar, Qāḍī 'Abd al-Malik, Sayyid Khāṣṣa, Shaykh 'Alā', generally known as A'lā, Shaykh Muḥammad Chānd and Shaykh Muḥammad Bā'īn Pānw were also Badī' al-Dīn Shāh Madār's disciples; Badī' al-Dīn died in 800/1397-98.

(23) Shaykh Shams Autāwala, a contemporary of Sulṭān al-Auliyā' Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn.

(24) Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Āshiq, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Imām al-Dīn Abdāl; had been benefited by Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī also.

16. The notice of Maulānā Majd al-Dīn [illegible] is available in the Bankipore MS. but the Catalogue fails to mention it. See Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, p. 36.

(25) Shaykh 'Imād al-Dīn, a disciple of Shaykh Imām al-Dīn Abdāl; obtained the robe of *Khilāfat* from Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Āshiq; Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Imām was his disciple.

(26) Shaykh Niẓam al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn, originally named Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin 'Alī al-Bukhārī; his early life and miracles; 35 of his aphorisms; died on 18 Rabī' II, 725/3 April 1325.

(27) Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Mutawakkil, brother and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar; died during the reign of Sulṭan Mu'izz al-Dīn Kayqubād, the grandson of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban; Notice of Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn Kayqubād.

(28) Shaykh Ṣalāh al-Dīn *Darwīsh,*[17] a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Multānī, and a contemporary of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn *Chirāgh-i Dihlī;* lived during the reign of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq; his tomb is near Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn *Chirāgh's;* notice of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq (725-52/1325-51).

(29) Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Malikyār Parrān, a disciple of Shaykh Dāniyāl Junhī, who traced his spiritual genealogy to Shaykh Abū Isḥāq Kāzirūnī through Shaykh 'Alī Khiḍrī; contemporary of Shaykh Abū Bakr Ṭūsī and Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; died in the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban; notice of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664-86/1266-87).

(30) Shaykh Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Rūmī, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī; Sulṭān Quṭb al-Dīn Khaljī was his disciple; his tomb is opposite Bijaymandal, in Delhi; notice of Sulṭān Quṭb al-Dīn Khaljī (716-20/1316-20).

(31) Sīdī Maula*, a contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban; killed during the reign of Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī; notice of Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī (689-95/1290-96).

(32) Shaykh Abū Bakr Ṭūsī, a friend of Shaykh Farīd's favourite

* As against this generally accepted pronunciation, some authorities favour the vocalization of this word as *Muwallih,* which implies a group of dervishes 'noted for their fire walking'. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent,* Leiden, 1980, p. 16, fn. 29.

17. The notice mentioned at serial no. 27 of the Bankipore *Catalogue,* in the MS. pertains to Shaykh Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Darwīsh but Maulavī Abdul Muqtadir wrongly attributes it to Ṣadr al-Dīn Darwīsh. See *ibid.*, p. 37.

disciple, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī; lived the life of a *Qalandar;* his tomb is on the bank of the river Jamnā, near Shaykh Malikyār Parrān's.

(33) Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, grandson, discilpe and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī; Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn had two sons, namely Shaykh 'Azīz and Shaykh Mujīb; Shaykh Farīd was the son of the former; collected the discourses of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn entitled the *Ṣurūr al-Ṣudūr;* came to Delhi in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq; left several sons; tomb in the ruins of Delhi, to the south of Bijaymandal.

(34) Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; died on 18 Ramaḍān 757/14 September 1356, during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq; notice of Fīrūz Shāh (752-90/1351-88); six of Shaykh's aphorisms and an account of his miracles.

(35) Maulānā Fakhr al-Dīn Marwazī, a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; died in the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq; buried beside the grave of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā, among the Yārān-i Chabūtara; one of his aphorisms; notice of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq (720-25/1320-25).

(36) Maulānā 'Alā' al-Dīn Nīlī, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; tomb by the side of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā's.

(37) Khwāja Taqī al-Dīn, a disciple, *Khalīfa* and Khwāja Niẓām al-Dīn's nephew's son (*pisar-i khwāhar-zada*); tomb among the Yārān-i Chabūtara.

(38) Khwāja Hārūn, surnamed Rafī' al-Dīn, eldest brother of Khwāja Taqī al-Dīn; buried beside the tomb of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn.

(39) Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī; belonged to the Sayyid family of Kirmān and Ghaznī; was a disciple and companion of Shaykh Farīd; had cordial relations with Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn; left four sons.

(40 Qāḍī Muḥyī al-Dīn Kāshānī, a disciple of Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā', during whose lifetime he died.

(41) Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Khāmūsh, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī; died in 732/1331-32, during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

(42) Sayyid Aḥmad, another son of Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī; died on Thursday, 1 Sha'bān 752/23 September 1351.

(43) Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn, a descendant of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and a disciple of Niẓām al-Dīn; grave near the tomb of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'.

(44) Khwāja Qāḍī, grandson of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar.

(45) Khwāja Muḥammad and Khwāja Mūsā, sons of Fāṭima, the third daughter of Shaykh Farīd, who was married to Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Isḥāq; Mūsā collected the discourses of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn styled the *Anwār al-Majālis.*

(46) Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn Ṣūfī, son of Bībī Mastūra, the first wife of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn; was a pupil of Qāḍī Muḥyī al-Dīn Kāshānī; an excellent calligrapher; composed the *Tuḥfat al-Abrār fī Karāmat al-Akhyār* in praise of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn.

(47) Khwāja Abū Bakr Shiblī, an intimate friend and disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn.

(48) Maulānā Jamāl al-Dīn Dihlawī,[18] a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn; tomb beside Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā's.

(49) Khwāja Karīm al-Dīn Samarqandī, a disciple of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar; contemporary of Khusrau and Ḥasan Dihlawī; suggested improvements in the works of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī; Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq gave him the title of *Anwār al-Mulk;* his sons Khwāja Aḥmad and Khwāja Niẓam al-Dīn were also very prominent.

(50) Maulānā Faṣīh al-Dīn, a disciple of Sulṭān al-Mashā'ikh, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn.

(51) Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn Imām, the *Imām* of Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; the poet Khusrau had great regard for him.

(52) Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Dihlawī, son of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Imām; was a leading *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn; Mas'ūd Bak was one of his disciples; buried beside the tomb of his father, near Lādō Sarā'ī.

18. The notice of Khwāja Abū Bakr is followed by two separate notices in the Bankipore MS. The first deals with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Dihlawī while the other treats of Khwāja Karīm al-Dīn Samarqandī. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir has confused both these notices in his *Catalogue.* See *ibid.*, p. 38.

(53) Shaykh Kabīr al-Auliyā', originally named Malik Qabūl, a favourite slave of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, in whose reign he died.

(54) Khwāja Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Anṣārī, a disciple of Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; left a son named Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad.

(55) Shaykh Ḥaydar, an experienced disciple of the Sulṭān al-Mashā'ikh.

(56) Shaykh Abū Bakr Muṣallā Bardār, a disciple and *Muṣallā*-keeper of Niẓām, al-Dīn Auliyā.'

(57) Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn, son of Khwāja Abū Bakr Muṣallā Bardār.

(58) Maulana Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā, a favourite *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliya', and a distinguished scholar of his times; left several learned pupils including the celebrated Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn *Chirāgh;* wrote a commentary on the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and compiled several treatises on *Ṣūfism*, one of which is called the *Shamsiyyat al-Ma'ārif;* died in the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq; nine of his aphorisms and some miracles.

(59) Maulānā Wajīh al-Dīn Pā'ilī, a disciple and friend of Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; was held in high esteem for his accomplishments.

(60) Amīr Khusrau Dihlawī, a favourite disciple of Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; died on Wednesday Dhū al-Qa'da 725/16 October, 1325.

(61) Khwāja Shams al-Dīn, the sister's son of Amīr Khusrau, and a strong devotee of Sulṭān al-Mashā'ikh.

(62) Khwāja Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, a favourite of Khwāja Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; was a constant associate of Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Ḥasan; after the death of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh he took to a life of seclusion and wrote several books including the *Ma'āthir-i Sādāt*, the *Thanā-i Muḥammadī*, the *Ṣalawāt-i Kabīr*, the *'Ināyat-nāma-i Ilāhī*, the *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* and the *Ḥasrat-nāma*.

(63) Maulānā Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Sunnāmī, a contemporary of the Sulṭān al-Mashā'ikh; known for his strict observance of *Sharī'a*.

(64) Khwāja Mu'ayyid al-Dīn, a very distinguished noble who later adopted a life of isolation from the world; Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn during his tenure as the governor of Kara, had very high regard for his piety. Later on, after his accession to the throne, he sent for the Khwāja and wanted to bestow on him some important office, but he declined.[19]

(65) Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Shīrāzī, an esteemed friend of Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'; the author of the *Sayr al-Auliyā'* saw him after the death of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'.

(66) Shaykh 'Uthmān Sayyāḥ, a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ, who was a *Khalīfa* of his grandfather, Shaykh al-Islām Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī; he attended the gatherings of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd also.

(67) Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaqq-gūy, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of his father, Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Zāhidī;[20] notice of Sulṭān Naṣīr al-Dīn, son of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (644-64/1246-66).

(68) Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥakīm, an esteemed *Khalīfa* and companion of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd as well as a favourite of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn; his tomb is in Qal'a-i 'Alā'ī; seven of his aphorisms.

(69) Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn *Thānī*, son and successor of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaqq-gūy, contemporary of Makhdūm Jahāniyān; left three sons, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn *Ganj-i Rawān* of Kālpī, Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn of Jaunpur and Shaykh Badr al-Dīn of Bihar.

(70) Sayyid Yūsuf al-Ḥusaynī, son of Sayyid Jamāl; was a teacher in the *Madrasa* of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq; author of the *Yūsufī* and the *Taujīh al-Afkār*.

(71) Qāḍī 'Abd al-Muqtadir Sharīḥī, son of Qāḍī Rukn al-Dīn; and a senior disciple of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmud; his pupil was Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn; he died on 26 Muḥarram 792/25 January 1388.

(72) Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn, a disciple, servant, *Khalīfa* and sister's son of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

19. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir writes: 'Khwaja Muayyid-ud-Din ... was Governor of Kara in the time of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din', which is quite contrary to the contents of the original MS. See *ibid.*, p. 39.

20. The Bankipore MS. reads 'Zāhidī', but the *Catalogue* records it as 'Zāhid', which is incorrect. See *ibid.*

(73) Mas'ūd Bak, a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn bin Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Imām; he was a relative of Sulṭān Fīrūz and his original name was Shīr Khān; wrote the *Tamhīdāt* on the model of the *Tamhīdāt* of 'Ayn al-Quḍāt-i Hamadānī; two of his aphorisms excerpted from the *Mir'at al-'Arifīn*.

(74) Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Samarqandī, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī; came to Delhi from Bukhara during the time of Sulṭān al-Mashā'ikn; died during the lifetime of the latter.

(75) Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Firdausī, a disciple of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Samarqandī; Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Firdausī was his disciple; buried in Kīlūkharī beside the tomb of Shaykh Maḥmūd Bihārī who obtained his spiritual training from Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn.

(76) Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Firdausī, a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Firdausī; one of his disciples was Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā.

(77) Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭahir, a disciple and *Khalīfa* of Rajī Ḥāmid Shāh, who was a disciple of Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn Mānikpūrī; born in Bihar, whence his father migrated from Multan in pursuit of knowledge; came to Delhi during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī, on the latter's request; died on 24 Rabī' I, 909/16 September 1503; wrote treatises on mysticism, including the *Miftāḥ al-Fayḍ;* four aphorisms of his.

(78) Maulānā Samā' al-Dīn, son of Fakhr al-Dīn; born at Multan in 808/1405-06; received the robe of *Khilāfat* from Shaykh Kabīr al-Dīn Ismā'īl, the grandson of Makhdūm Jahāniyān; lost his eyesight in his old age; wrote glosses on the *Lama'āt;* another of his works is the *Miftāḥ al-Asrār* which follows the pattern of the *Rasā'il-i Azīz-i Nasafī* Shaykh Jamālī, a scholar and poet, was his disciple; he died on 17 Jumādā II, 907/28 December 1401.

(79) Shāh 'Abd Allāh Qurayshī, a follower of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' of Multan; Sulṭan Buhlūl Lōdī married his daughter to him[21] Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī was his disciple and was known for his extraordinary devotion to his preceptor; his son, Shāh Aḥmad also had strong mystical leanings.

21. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir writes: 'Shah 'Abd Ullah Qurayshi ... married his daughter to Sultan Bahlul Lodi ...', which is contrary to the facts and is not substantiated by the original MS. See his *Catalogue*, p. 41.

(80) Shaykh Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, a descendant of Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī Surkh, and a disciple of Shāh 'Abd Allāh; learnt the external sciences from Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Bukhārī; Sulṭan Sikandar Lōdī had great regard for him; he wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān; died in 932/1525-26 during the reign of Bābur Pādishāh; notice of Bābur Pādishāh (932-37/1526-30).

(81) Shāh Abū al-Ghayth Bukhārī, son of Shaykh Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Wahhāb; died during the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lōdī, notice of Ibrāhīm Lōdī (923-32/1517-26).

(82) Shāh Jalāl Shīrāzī, a disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh, author of the commentary on the *Gulshan-i Rāz;* came to Delhi in 944/1537-38 during the reign of Sikandar Lōdī; notice of Humāyūn.

(83) Shaykh Sulayman Māndowī, son of Shaykh 'Affān; born in Delhi; travelled extensively and met several divines; spent fifty years in *I'tikāf* at Masjid-i Aqṣā and the Bayt al-Ḥarām; Shāh Sulaymān of Badakhshan was one of his disciples; migrated to Mando during the invasion of Delhi by Tīmūr; died at the advanced age of one hundred and fifty years or, according to some, even more than that; had two sons, Shaykh Dā'ūd and Shaykh Maḥmūd; Shaykh Dā'ūd died in his youth; Shaykh Maḥmūd succeeded his father; Shaykh Maḥmūd's son, Shaykh Kamāl[22] was also celebrated for his virtuous deeds; notices of Khiḍr Khān (817-24/1414-21) and Mu'izz al-Dīn Mubārakshāh (824-38/1421-36).

(84) Shaykh Muḥammad Mashā'ikh, son of Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, daughter's son of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Bukhārī and younger brother of Shāh Abū al-Ghayth; benefited from his father and Shāh 'Abd Allāh Qurayshī; accompanied Humāyūn to the campaign of Gujarat; died in 942/1535-36, at the age of 50; succeeded by his son, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm, who was succeeded by Shaykh Muḥammad Shahīd, who was succeeded by Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb who was succeeded by Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf, who was a contemporary of the author.

(85) Shāh Muzammil, son and *Khalīfa* of Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Wahhāb; his mother was the daughter of Prince 'Abd Allāh of Rūm; benefited from the spiritual beatitude of Shāh 'Abd Allāh also; enjoyed cordial relations with Shaykh Salīm Chishtī; died in 958/1551-52 at the age of 37, during

22. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir wrongly calls him the son of Shaykh Sulaymān Māndowī. See *ibid.*

the reign of Salīm Khān bin Shīr Khān [Shāh]; notice of Salīm Khān [Shāh].

(86) Shāh Mudaththir, brother of Shāh Muzammil and son of Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Wahhāb; born in 924/1518-19; Shāh Muzammil had great regard for him; Shīr Khān [Shāh] and his son Salīm Khān [Shāh] also held him in high esteem; died in 961/1553-54, at the age of 27; he was succeeded by his eldest son Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghaffār, who was succeeded by his son, Shaykh Salīm.

(87) Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn son of Shāh 'Abd Allāh Qurayshī; his mother was a daughter of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lōdī; after his father's death rose to the position of *Shaykh al-Islām* of Delhi.

(88) Shaykh Abū al Fatḥ, son of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn.

(89) Shaykh Ad-han Dihlawī, originally named Zayn al-'Ābidīn; a disciple of Maulānā Samā' al-Dīn, maternal grandfather of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī; died in 934/1527-28.

(90) Shaykh Yūsuf Qattāl, a disciple of his father-in-law, Qāḍī Jalāl al-Dīn Lāhaurī; died in 933 during the reign of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur Pādishāh; buried in the Haft Pul of Muḥammad bin Tughluq; four of his aphorisms.

(91) Shaykh 'Abd Allah Dihlawī, son of Shaykh Yūsuf Qattāl; died in 987/1579-80.

(92) Maulānā Shu'ayb,[23] a renowned scholar, saint and preacher of his time; his grandfather was the *Muftī* of Delhi during the days of Sulṭān Buhlūl; died in 936/1529-30 in the reign of Bābur Pādishāh.

(93) Shaykh Jamālī, a renowned saint and poet of later Lōdī and early Mughul period; Sulṭān Sikandar, Bābur and Humāyūn held him in high esteem; disciple of Maulānā Samā' al-Dīn; travelled extensively and met a great many saints and scholars including Maulānā Jāmī; Shaykh al-Islām Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd; Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā of Harat and his learned minister Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawa'ī also showed great regard to him; died in 942/1535-36 during the reign of Humāyun Pādishāh.

(94) Sayyid Ḥasan Pāy Minārī; during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar

23. This notice is missing in the Bankipore MS. See *ibid.*, p. 42.

Lōdī came to Delhi from Mashhad-i Tūs.

(95) Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad Dihlawī, son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad, a descendant of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar; maintenance of the tomb of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliya' was his ancestral responsibility; died towards the end of the 9th/15th century.

(96) Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn Ajōdhanī, also known as Farīd-i *Thānī*, son of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn; a disciple of his grandfather, Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn bin Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin Shaykh Munawwar; died in 948/1541-42 during the reign of Shīr Khān; notice of Shīr Khān [Shāh] (945-52/1538-45).

(97) Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Khayālī, eldest son and disciple of Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭāhir; born in Jaunpur; lived in Madinah for several years; repaired to Delhi with Shaykh Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Wahhāb; tomb in Bijaymandal, Delhi; six of his aphorisms.

(98) Mīr Sayyid Shams al-Dīn and Sayyid Abū Ṭālib, two friends; came to India and stayed with Shāh Muḥammad Fīrūzābādī, who led an honourable life from the time of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lōdī to Islām Khān [Shāh] bin Shīr Khān [Shāh], Shāh Muḥammad offered the hand of one of his daughters to Sayyid Abū Ṭālib who declined the match; soon afterwards, both these travellers were found slain in his house; incident caused great uproar among the people; Shāh Muḥammad was sent to prison where he died; Shaykh Muḥammad 'Āshiq Sanbhalī was one of Shāh Muḥammad's disciples.[24]

(99) Sayyid Ibrāhīm Īrajī, son of Mīr Mu'īn; a Ḥusaynī Sayyid; belonged to the Qādiriyya order, was a disciple of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Qādirī Shaṭṭārī; died in 953/1546-47.

(100) Mīr Sayyid 'Abd al-Awwal, son of 'Alā'; according to the *Akhbār al-Akhyār* his ancestors migrated from Zaidpur, a dependancy of Jaunpur, to the Deccan; he was born there; after performing the pilgrimage, he returned to Ahmadabad and finally settled in Delhi; his

24. The *Catalogue* records: 'Sayyid Shams-ud-Din and Sayyid Abu Talib, two friends who led an honorable life from the time of Sultan Ibrahim bin Sultan Sikandar Shah to that of Islam Khan bin Shir Khan; Islam Khan accommodated them with great honour in his palace, and negotiated a marriage between one of his daughters and Abu Talib, who, however, declined the match. Soon afterwards, the two saints were found murdered in his house, and the king was suspected of the crime'. The whole statement is absolutely baseless and is not substantiated by the Bankipore MS. See *ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

works are the *Fayḍ al-Bārī, Siyar al-Nabī, Risāla-i Taḥqīq-i Nafs*, and the *Risāla-i Farā'iḍ* (in verse); wrote glosses on several books including the *Futūḥāt-i Makkiyya* and the *Muṭawwal-i Ma'ānī;* died in 968/1560-61; during the reign of Akbar, five of his aphorisms quoted.

(101) Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz, younger son of Kamāl al-Ḥaqq Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭahir Jaunpūrī brother of Shāh Khayālī, and *Khalīfa* of Miyān Qāḍī Khān Yūsuf Nāṣiḥī Ẓafarābādī; born at Jaunpur in 880/1475-76; according to some, he was born in 896/149-91, died in 975/1567-68, during the reign of Akbar; he left several sons, among whom Miyān Shaykh Quṭb al-'Ālam was well known; among his works are the *'Ayniyya* and the *'Azīziyya;* ten of his aphorisms; notice of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605).

(102) Shaykh Isḥāq Multānī; died in 987/1579-80.

(103) Shaykh Hasan Būdla, Salīm Khān Sūr was one of his devotees; died in 967/1559-60.

(104) Maulānā Majd, a follower of the Maghribiyya Aḥmadiyya order; Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujarātī became his pupil; Sulṭān Bahādur also held him in high esteem; at the time of the annexation of Gujarat; Humāyūn brought him to Delhi; died during the reign of Shīr Shāh.

(105) Shaykh Zakariyya' Dihlawī, surnamed Bahā' al-Dīn, a descendant of Shaykh Farīd Ganj-i Shakar; benefited from Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs and other saints also; died in 970/1562-63, during the reign of Akbar.

(106) Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Dihlawī, son of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā', son of Shaykh 'Īsā Dihlawī; spent some time in the company of Shaykh Amān Panīpatī, wrote a commentary on the *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ;* later on, joined the military service and became a soldier.

(107) Shaykh Yūsuf Dihlawī, a disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-Razzāq Jhanjhāna, whose discourses he collected; died during the reign of Akbar.

(108) Shaykh Ḥājjī Dihlawī, son of Shah Khayālī and disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shāh 'Abd al-Razzāq Jhanjhāna; he was succeeded by his son, Shaykh Kamāl, who died towards the end of 1024/1615.

(109) Shaykh Ḥusayn Naqshī, a renowned seal-engraver; met several *Mashā'ikh;* died on 14 Jumāda II, 988/27 July 1580 left several children, one of whom, Shaykh 'Alī Aḥmad, was adorned with many virtues; 'Alī Aḥmad died on 18 Muḥarram 1018/23 April 1609; in the presence of the Emperor Jahāngīr, as a result of an ecstasy caused by a couplet of Ḥasan Dihlawī [*sic*].

(110) Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Dihlawī, father of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, born in 920/1514-15, and died in 990/1582-83 at the age of 70*; six of his aphorisms quoted; account of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith followed by ten of his aphorisms.

(111) Shaykh Rizq Allāh Mushtāqī, uncle of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith and disciple of Miṣbāḥ al-'Āshiqīn Shaykh Mangan; author of the *Wāqi'āt-i Mushtāqī;* died in 989/1581-82,[25] at the age of ninety years; his brother, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh, alias Shaykh Manjhū who was a disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad Khayālī, died in 969/1561-62.

(112) Shaykh Ismā'il 'Arab, a disciple of Khwāja 'Abd al-Shahīd, was an eminent saint and scholar; most of the students of the *Madrasa-i Dihlī* had benefited from him.

(113) Shaykh Buhlūl Dihlawī; spent most of his time in reciting the Qur'ān, and teaching *Tafsīr, Ḥadīth, Fiqh* and *Uṣūl;* died on 14 Rajab 1007/10 February 1599.

(114) Shaykh Ḥājjī Muḥammad, a friend of Shaykh Buhlūl Lōdī; belonged to the Qādirī order; very strict in the observance of the *Sharī'a;* died on 1 Ramaḍān 1007/4 August 1598.

(115) Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī Biyābānī, a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz; died in Jumādā II, 1017/1608, during the reign of Jahāngīr; notice of Jahāngīr (1614-37/1605-27).

(116) Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ajōdhanī, a devotee of Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Bi'llāh; died in 1019/1610-11.

25. Bankipore MS. gives 979/1571 as the year of his death, which is incorrect.

* This by the computation common in many parts of Asia, according to which he was 1 from the moment of birth. According to the usual European system he was only 69 when he died.' (A.L. Basham)

(117) Shaykh Walī Muḥammad, a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz; most of his time was spent in the recitation of the Qur'ān; died on 18 Jumādā II, 1017/30 August 1608.

(118) Sayyid Muḥammad Muḥtasib, a contemporary of the author; well versed in esoteric as well as exoteric sciences; died in 1017/1608-09.

(119) Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad Kashmīrī Dihlawī, the maternal grandfather of the author; his ancestors came to Kashmir from Hamadan with Mīr[26] Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī; he came to Delhi, completed his education and started teaching at the *Madrasa-i Dilhi;* was one of the most outstanding scholars of his time; died on 19 Ṣafar 1006/1 October 1597.

(120) Khwāja Muḥammad al-Bāqī al-Naqshbandī al-Uwaysī, the author's spiritual guide; died on Monday 25 Jumādā II, 1012/30 November 1603; fifty-five of his aphorisms quoted; accounts of four of his most distinguished *Khalīfas,* namely Shaykh Tāj Sanbhalī, Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn Dihlawī, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, and Shaykh Ilāhdād of Amroha, are also included. Notice of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī is followed by eleven of his aphorisms.

(ii) The *Ṭabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī*

Another important and more detailed work from the pen of Ṣādiq Hamadānī is the *Ṭabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī.* The author was born sometime during the reign of Akbar, lived through the whole period of Jahāngīr and was alive, at least up to the 16th regnal year (1052/1642) of Shāhjahān. He had long contemplated the compilation of the biographies of the distinguished *Sayyids, Ṣūfīs,* scholars, physicians and poets who flourished from the Orthodox Caliphs to the reign of Shāhjahān. But, grandiose as his project was, he failed to muster sufficient material and moreover for want of leisure he was compelled to confine himself to those contemporary with the illustrious House of Tīmūr.[27] The book, that deals with hundreds of celebrities from different times and climes, is divided into ten chapters, corresponding to the reigns of Tīmūr and his successors.[28] Each chapter is called a *Ṭabaqa* which consists of three *Bābs* or sections: section one deals with the *Sayyids* and the *Ṣūfīs,*

26. The Bankipore MS. reads 'Mīr', but the *Catalogue* erroneously records it as 'Nūr'. See *ibid.*, p. 44.
27. *Ṭabaqāt*, ff. 3b-5.
28. For a detailed list of contents, see Appendix I.

section two treats of the scholars, and the physicians, and the third section contains brief notices of the poets whose deaths coincided with the reigning monarch of the House of Tīmūr, under whom their names have been mentioned. Some of the notices are so succinct and sketchy as to excite rather than satisfy the curiosity of the reader. The importance of the work as a biographical dictionary, however, cannot be overemphasized.

Although occasional references to some earlier authorities are met with in the course of the narrative, the author fails to mention his sources specifically. For the contemporaries of Akbar he not only relies on the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* of Badāyūnī but also subscribes to his ideas with regard to the religious developments at the court of that Emperor. The last two chapters, covering the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, based as they are on the author's personal observation, are particularly interesting, instructive and revealing; and whatever little we know about the author's own life is mostly contained in this part of his work. The book is still in manuscript.

(iii) *Āthār-i Shāhjahānī*

During the course of writing the *Kalimāt* in 1023/1614 Ṣādiq Hamadānī made a passing reference to the fact that circumstances permitting he would like to compile a history of the reign of Jahāngīr on a subsequent date.[29] Whether he could put into effect this desire is not known. Nevertheless, "a very defective" manuscript of one of his works entitled *Āthār-i Shāhjahānī,* which is alternatively called *Ākhbār-i Jahāngīrī* also, is preserved in the Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Patna.[30]

According to its preface, the work comprised a *Muqaddima,* a *Maṭla',* a *Maqṣad* and a *Khāṭima,* but in its present state the title *Āthar-i Shāhjahānī* seems nothing more than a misnomer, because the *Khāṭima* which apparently contained an account of the reign of Shāhjahān is missing from this only known manuscript of the work. As far as the *Muqaddima* is concerned, it, among other things, discusses the meaning of the word *king* and explains his duties to God and people. The *Maṭla'* starts from Adam and comes down to a description of the ancestors of Shāhjahān. The *Maqṣad* is a collection of anecdotes about various prophets, the Rightly Guided Caliphs and pious kings. In view of the least

29. *Kalimāt,* Persian Text, p. 157.
30. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Library at Bankipore,* Patna, 1977 repr., pp. 65-66 (MS. No. 564).

importance accorded by the author to the account of the reign of Shahjahān and the excessive emphasis he laid on the stock-in-trade more relevant to a traditional 'Mirror for Princes', one would like to place the *Āthār* in the latter category rather than calling it a book of history proper.

VII. THE PLAN OF THE *KALIMĀT*

In its plan and pattern the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* closely follows the model of the *Rashaḥāt-i 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt* of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī Ṣafī, son of the celebrated preacher of Harāt, Mullā Husayn Wā'iz Kāshifī. The author of the *Rashaḥāt* tells us in the preface of his book that he was admitted to the presence of the great Naqshbandī saint, Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār, towards the end of Dhī-Qa'd 889/December 1484 and again at the beginning of Rabī' II 893/March 1488, and heard him discoursing on the virtues and qualities of the saints of the Naqshbandiyya order. He remembered his utterances and, when the meetings ended, carefully committed them to paper. When the Khwāja died, 'Alī Ṣafī for his personal spiritual satisfaction decided to arrange the discourses of his preceptor in the shape of a book, though sixteen years elapsed before he could execute his plan. In doing so, he prefaced the biography of the Khwāja, the real theme of the book according to the author, with the accounts of his predecessors in the Naqshbandiyya order. Wherever possible he also appended some of the sayings – each one known as a *Rashaḥa* ('drop') – of that particular saint and called his work the *Rashaḥāt-i 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt* ('The Drops of the Spring of Life'). The name, *Rashaḥāt*, is expressive of the date of its completion,[1] *i.e.* 909/1503-4; though references to dates as late as 912/1506 are also seen in the text.[2]

The *Rashaḥāt*, based as it is on the conversations of Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār, various books on the lives and teachings of the saints of the Naqshbandiyya school of mystics, and the accounts gathered from the trustworthy contemporaries of the author, has always been prized as the earliest standard authority, after the *Nafaḥāt*, on the history of the Naqshbandiyya order. Several commentaries[3] of the work and its renderings into the Turkish language[4] eloquently speak for its importance and popularity. Ṣādiq Hamadānī also appears to have been fond of this

1. *Rashaḥāt* (Kānpūr 1911), pp. 1-4.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
3. See Maulavi Abd al-Muqtadir, p. 26.
4. See Maulavi Abd al-Muqtadir, pp. 26-27; Rieu, Vol. I, p. 262.

book in no small measure. He quotes it once in the *Kalimāt*[5] and in one of his letters addressed to Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindi[6] seeks explanation for two points arising out of that book which at once reveal his interest in it as well as the discriminating nature of his mind. In the structure and format of the *Kalimāt* he chose the *Rashaḥāt* as his model. He prefaced the extensive account of his preceptor, Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh, to quote him 'the real object in writing the book',[7] with the accounts of the saints who were buried in Delhi up to his own time. After the accounts of a number of distinguished *Ṣūfīs* he also reproduced some of their aphorisms, each one known as a *Kalima* ('utterance'), and styled his work *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* ('The Utterances of the Truthful'), the name of the book being expressive of the date of its commencement and completion.[8]

VIII. ITS SOURCES

(i) Retrospect

The 8th/14th century saw the compilation of three extremely important treatises appertaining to mysticism in India, namely the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, the *Khayr al-Majālis* and the *Sayr al-Auliyā' fī Maḥabbat-i Ḥaqq Jalla wa 'Alā'*. It is to the timely initiative, abiding interest and indefatigable industry of the authors of these three fundamental works that to a large extent we owe our knowledge and understanding of the spiritual and social life of early medieval India and particularly the early history of the Chishtiyya order in this Subcontinent. The *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* is a collection of the discourses of the great Chishtī saint, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā', extending over a period of fifteen years from 3 Shā'ban 707/23 January 1308[9] to 20 Sha'bān 722/3 September 1322,[10] compiled by his favourite disciple, celebrated poet Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī 'Alā'. Couched in a simple, direct and spontaneous language as they are, the discourses cover a wide range of topics, unravel a great many mystical, theological and ethical problems, contain invaluable references to contemporary events, and provide information of unmistakable authenticity about the lives of the contemporaries and predecessors of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'. Thirty-two years after the publication of *Fawā'id*

5. Persian Text. p. 48.
6. *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Vol. II, Letter 28.
7. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text. p. 193.
8. *Ibid.*, Persian Text, p. 2.
9. *F.F.*, p. 3.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

al-Fu'ād, in 754/1353,[11] another record of homilies made its appearance, and the *Khayr al-Majālis*, an anthology of one hundred discourses of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chīragh Dihlawī, compiled by Ḥamīd Qalandar, an old disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā', who later on joined the company of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī and undertook the task of recording his conversations. Ḥamīd Qalandar did not record the dates of the assemblies, but otherwise the thought content and the nature of topics discussed in the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* and the *Khayr al-Majālis* are much the same, with the difference that the latter occasionally repeats, attests and sometimes supplements the details already mentioned in the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*. It also gives an unparalleled insight into the serene, sublime and exalted nature of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn. Although the few introductory pages are written in a florid, ornate and verbose style, the *Majālis* themselves are described in a clear and simple language.

Compiled as they were under the direct supervision and constant scrutiny of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' and Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chriāgh Dihlawī, these two works set a firm foundation for the spate of both apocryphal and genuine *Malfūẓāt*, as the discourses of the saints are generally called, of subsequent generations of *Ṣūfīs* and mystics.

The responsibility of transforming the stray biographical references contained in these works into a consistent, continued and reliable narrative, however, devolved upon Sayyid Muḥammad Mubārak Kirmānī generally known as Amīr Khurd, another of the devout followers of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn. His work, the *Sayr al-Auliyā' fī Maḥabbat-i Ḥaqq Jalla wa 'Āla'*, generally called the *Siyar al-Auliyā'*. is by far the most important work on the lives of the first five generations of the Chishtī mystics in India. He was the grandson of Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī, a senior disciple of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar and a close and sincere friend of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn. When Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn for the first time visited the *Khānqāh* of Shaykh Farīd in Ajodhan, Sayyid Muḥammad was already there. The warmth of his disposition and the concern he showed for the welfare of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, soon captured the heart of this new disciple of Shaykh Farīd and gradually their relations became extremely cordial and transcended all formalities and worldly conventions. Amīr Khurd's maternal grandfather, Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Dāmaghānī, was an old classmate of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn and enjoyed the best of relations with him. His father and uncles were

11. *K.M.*, p. 3.

equally devoted to the Shaykh and relished his full faith and confidence. All the senior disciples of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn were frequent visitors to the house of Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Khāmūsh, one of the uncles of Amīr Khurd, who employed an army of musicians for their musical sessions and in other respects spared no effort to make them feel comfortable during their stay at his place. On his birth, Amīr Khurd was taken to the august presence of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, who bestowed on him his own name, Muḥammad, and gave him his blessing. Amīr Khurd, who grew in such an atmosphere, naturally witnessed many important events of the latter half of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn's life. He also associated with many of the Shaykh's senior disciples who later became *Khalīfas*, and had access to the Shaykh's personal papers after his death. He had many people around him who could give him veritable accounts of the early career of the Shaykh and his contemporaries. He was deeply read in traditional sciences, had a strong propensity towards mysticism and was already well past fifty.[12] It was with all these factors to bring to bear upon his endeavours that he embarked upon the compilation of the *Sayr al-Auliyā'*.

The book, which is an excellent example of the arrangement of varied material, consists of ten chapters, each comprising several sections. In the first chapter he traces the spiritual lineage of the Chishtī saints to the Prophet Muḥammad and treats of the biographies of Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn. Chapter two contains biographical notices of the *Khalīfas* of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn, Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn, and Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn. Chapter three contains a description of the descendants of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and the relatives of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, and their relations with the brothers, father, uncles and grandfather of the author. Chapter four deals with the virtues and qualities of the *Khalīfas* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn. Chapter five consists of the biographical accounts of the members of Khwāja Niẓām al-Dīn's inner circle of disciples. The next three chapters expatiate upon the rules governing the enrolment of disciples, their elevation to *Khilāfat*, various litanies and prayers practised by Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, and the etiquette to be observed in musical gatherings. The tenth and last chapter comprises the sayings of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn which are skilfully classified under various sub-headings. The last section of this chapter consists of a brief account of the kings of Delhi, from Iltutmish to Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, who, according to the author, died in 789/1387,[13] the last date mentioned in the book.

12. *S.A.*, p. 15.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 592.

This portion is based upon the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* and the *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* of Baranī.

The book is written in a simple and lucid style, but the excessive number of verses of the author as well as those of other poets, mostly Sanā'ī-i Ghaznawī's, unduly hampers the continuity and flow of the narrative. Acknowledged or not, the *Sayr al-Auliyā'* has been drawn upon extensively by later hagiographers. In view of the lack of more contemporary material it would not be wrong to conclude that in so far as the early history of the Chishtiyya order in the Subcontinent is concerned, the *Sayr al-Auliyā'* in conjunction with the earlier two authorities, forms the trio that serves as the sole criterion and final arbiter of the authenticity and veracity of the later hagiographies.

Well over a century elapsed after the compilation of the *Sayr al-Auliyā'*, before an hagiological work of any consequence emerged. Then, during the first half of the 10th/16th century, Maulānā Shaykh Jamālī Kambō of Delhi, a saint of Suhrawardī denomination and court poet of Sikandar Lōdī, Bābur, and Humāyūn, realized the need for such a work and compiled the *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*. After his extensive peregrinations all over the Islamic lands and association with the renowned Muslim *Ṣūfīs* and the scholars of his time, when Jamālī returned to Delhi, his friends, hoping to profit from his experiences, urged him to write down his reminiscences. But the undertaking was a vast one and Shaykh Jamālī was particularly conscious of the fact that the simple-hearted custodians of the tombs and the ignorant devotees of the Indian mystics and saints had over the decades woven a fabric of legendary accounts around their lives and that the day was not far off when the distinction between fact and fiction would altogether be extinct,[14] Shaykh Jamālī instead preferred to compile a standard biographical work about the Indian *Ṣūfīs*, regardless of their *Silsila* affiliations.

In the execution of his plan he not only drew upon the earlier Chishtī works but also used the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* of Minhāj-i Sirāj, the *Khazāna-i Jalālī* of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm Jahāniyān and the *Manāqib-i Quṭbī* by one of the latter's disciples. Nevertheless, the celebrity and importance of his work mainly rests upon the mass of material that he gathered from various sources, both within and outside India. It is this new element in the *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* that illuminates various obscure points and goes a long way to fill in the lacunae of our information

14. Jamālī, pp. 3-4.

about the early Chishtī and Suhrawardī saints. Although the book deals mainly with the thirteen major mystics of these two orders,[15] the last one being Shaykh Samā' al-Dīn, the author's spiritual preceptor, its stray references to their minor contemporaries are also of interest.

In employing the successive high-sounding rhyming titles before the names of the *Sūfīs* in the beginning of their accounts Jamālī faithfully follows the pattern set by 'Alī Hujwīrī in his *Kashf al-Mahjūb*[16] and then extremely exaggerated by 'Attār in his *Tadhkirat al-Auliyā'*.[17] The credit for preceding these titles with a short panegyric poem, however, goes to Jamālī. These innovations of his might have been of some interest to his contemporaries but the modern reader looks upon them as sheer obstructions in an otherwise smooth narrative.

Notwithstanding all its virtues, the *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* is extremely deficient in dates and pays little attention to the aphorisms of the *Ṣūfīs*.

The 10th/16th century witnessed the advent of another important hagiography in the *Akhbār al-Akhyār fī Asrār il-Abrār* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. The Shaykh had a predilection for the company of the learned and the saintly from his early childhood. One day he was present in the assembly of some dervishes who were talking about the spiritual attainments of their masters. Carried away by the charm of their conversation, the Shaykh, who was still a young lad, and who afterwards turned out to be one of the most prolific writers of India, decided to record it in his notebook, and with that the foundation of his maiden work was laid. Gradually he amassed a lot of material about the lives and achievements of the later generations of mystics (*pasīniyān*) and then set out in search of the details about the earlier ones (*pīshīniyān*). Before long he had in his possession a magnificent collection of biographical accounts of the *Ṣūfīs* of India. Lack of experience, the impatience of youth and the insistence of his friends, however, did not allow him to edit his work properly before its publication. Two copies of his work were transcribed by his friends and made public. The labour of love was lost: his work was not well received. Some criticized the prolixity of some of the accounts while others complained of the brevity of the remainder. The inclusion of accounts of some of his contempora-

15. Rieu is wrong in his assumption that all the thirteen mystics 'belonged to the Chishti order'. See his *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, Vol. I, p. 354.
16. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abbāsī (Tehran 1336 H. Sh.), pp. 202-14.
17. Ed. Muḥammad Isti'lāmī (Tehran 1346 H.Sh.), pp. 12, 19, 30.

ries in the book was also resented. The Shaykh explained that those who were now dead had been alive in the past, and had had the same position among their contemporaries as those included in his book among his own contemporaries; and that when they died their memory would be as much revered by posterity as the present day revered the memory of the people of the past; but the truth did not go home. He also explained that his was not a *Tadhkirat al-Auliyā'* ('The Anthology of the Friends of God') nor was it a *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* ('The Lives of the Sages'). It was a simple book styled the *Akhbār al-Akhyār fī Asrār il-Abrār* ('The Stories of the Chosen, concerning the Secrets of the Pious') and, as such, all those mentioned in it should not necessarily be viewed as the 'Friends of God' or the 'Sages', but nobody heeded.[18] Meanwhile in 996/1587-88 he left for the Hijaz, whence he returned in 1000/1591-92.

On his return the Shaykh undertook to revise the *Akhbār al-Akhyār* and in doing so, notwithstanding the fact that he incorporated two of the lengthiest notices -- of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Muttaqī and Shaykh 'Alī al-Muttaqī -- in it, the book that originally comprised 15,000 lines was reduced to only 9,000 lines. In all probability he expunged the accounts of his contemporaries in the process and also much abridged the specimens of the writings of those included in it. This may have satisfied his antagonists but, viewed in retrospect, the loss was great and irredeemable. Nevertheless, the book in its present form, by all standards, is an epitome of its author's ingenuity, erudition and insight.

With the advent of the *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, the genre of biographical writings about the saints of India came to full maturity and attained new dimensions. The work of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq not only was much richer in the variety of the mystic affiliations it treated but also covered a much larger area of the Subcontinent than did the earlier books. In the choice of his material also the Shaykh showed great discernment. As he writes in the preface, he took every possible care to sift the genuine from the fake and did not include anything unless he was fully satisifed with

18. *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, MS. No. 107/52 (preserved in the private collection of MSS. of the late Professor Maulawī Muḥammad Shafī', of Lahore). The manuscript (dated the Sha'bān 1067/May-June 1657) is scribed in the hand of the author's grandson, Sayf Allāh bin Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī and is invaluable for the extra information not contained in other manuscripts.

its authenticity. Modern scholars,[19] however, cast doubt upon the genuineness of some of the collections of *Malfūẓāt* quoted by him, like the *Dalīl al-'Ārifīn* and the *Fawā'id al-Sālikīn*, attributed respectively to Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and his *Khalīfa*, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn.

The book starts with a *Muqaddima* followed by a lengthy account of the life, achievements and miracles of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, the arch mystic and founder of the Qādiriyya order of the *Ṣūfīs*. The other contents of the book are divided into three *Ṭabaqas*. The first *Ṭabaqa* deals with the lives of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī, his contemporaries, *Khalīfas* and disciples. The second *Ṭabaqa* consists of the notices of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar, his contemporaries and disciples. In the third and final *Ṭabaqa* that extends to the author's own time, the Shaykh treats of the lives of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī and his contemporaries. This *Ṭabaqa* is followed by two small sections devoted respectively to those attracted by Divine grace (*Majādhīb*) and the female saints of India. The book concludes with an appendix wherein the Shaykh describes the early phase of his life and traces his pedigree to Āghā Muḥammad Turk, the first of his ancestors, who came to Delhi during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī.

Except for the introductory portion of the work and the excerpts from other books which have a heavy proportion of Arabic vocabulary, the general narrative is simple and can be considered a good example of economy of words. The author appears to be well aware of the importance of dates and wherever possible does not hesitate to record them. The copious reproductions from the works of those treated in the book also immensely enhance the importance of the work.

The first quarter of the 11th/17th century brought to light another invaluable hagiography called the *Gulzār-i Abrār*, by Muḥammad Ghauthī Shaṭṭārī, of Mando, in Gujarat. Muḥammad Ghauthī was born on 11 Rajab 962/1 June 1555. He lost his father at an early age but this did not deter him from the pursuit of his education and the prosecution of his studies. He sat at the feet of several renowned scholars and received

19. The validity of the *Malfūẓāt* Collections attributed to various *Mashā'ikh* was for the first time questioned by Muhammad Qiyām al-Dīn 'Abd al-Bārī Ma'nī in his *Ta'rīkh al-Salaf* (Ajmēr 1343/1925, pp. 63-77) and his doubts were confirmed by the researches subsequently carried out by other scholars. For an exhaustive analysis of the fabricated *Malfūẓāt* literature, see Muḥammad Habīb, Chishti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2 (October 1950), pp. 17-42.

instruction from them in a variety of subjects. In mysticism he was a follower of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Baraudawī and his *Khalīfa*, Shaykh Maḥmūd bin Jalāl Gujaratī.

Ghauthī first contemplated the compilation of his work in 998/1590 but for one reason or another he was compelled to postpone the beginning to some other date. In 1008/1599-1600 he saw the brief account of the Indian *Sūfīs* contained in the last volume of the *Akbār-nama*, by Abū al-Faḍl, which again, for the time being, spurred his desire to embark upon the project. The original beginning of his work, however, came in 1010/1601-1602 when Akbar on his way to the Deccan and Khandesh expeditions stopped in Burhanpur and some of the nobles and grandees in the imperial army, who knew Ghauthī already and were aware of his intention to compose such a work, inquired of him about the progress of his undertaking.[20] Now was the time for Ghauthī to start his work earnestly, and he completed it in 1022/1613-14.[21]

Ghauthī had met Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī in 995/1586-87 and was a great admirer of his monumental work, the *Akhbar al-Akhyār*[22] but still in so far as the style of his work is concerned he appears to have been more fascinated by the florid prose of Abū al-Faḍl whom he imitates unsuccessfully. Starting from the 7th/13th century down to his own time 1022/1613-14, he deals in his work with almost twice as many *Sūfīs* as treated in the *Akhbar al-Akhyār*, which he carefully follows in the arrangement of some of the entries. His work also covers the Naqshbandī saints of India and their predecessors in Transoxiana. Content with passing references to the names of some of his contemporaries from whom he derived his information, Ghauthī pays little attention to the mention of the written authorities he extensively drew upon in tne course of his work.

The *Gulzār-i Abrār* is divided into five *Chamans*, the first three being, more or less, the repetition of what had already been accomplished. The last two *Chamans*, particularly the fifth one dealing with the Shaṭṭārī saints, however, contain the real contribution of the author and as such, are of immense value. The author pays due attention to the recording of dates but the general style of the book, marked as it is by

20. The third volume of the *Akbar-nāma*, which itself comprises three volumes, is generally referred to as the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. For the account of *Sufis* referred to by Ghauthi see the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (Lucknow 1893), Vol. III, pp. 163-176.
21. *G.A.*, f.3b.
22. *Ibid.*, f. 370.

extreme circumlocution and prolixity, is boring and considerably detracts from its merits as a monument of Persian prose in India during the 11th/17th century. Though an Urdu translation of the work has been published long since,[23] the original is still in manuscript.

(ii) The *Ṣūfīs* of Delhi

It was a strange coincidence that the four biographical works discussed above were composed by a Chishtī, a Suhrawardī, a Qādirī, and a Shaṭṭārī writer respectively. Strictly in historical sequence, it was now the turn of a Naqshbandī to come forward, and so he did. But with two important works already in existence, the *Akhbār al-Akhyār* which appeared in its revised form in the early 11th/17th century and the *Gulzār-i Abrār* that was completed sometime in 1022/1613-14, dealing with the *Ṣūfīs* of all major denominations spread all over India, and having himself already compiled a book on the luminaries of the Naqshbandiyya order, there was little scope for Ṣādiq Hamadānī, or, for that matter, for any other writer, to make a real and concrete contribution in the field. Nevertheless, realizing that Delhi, the beehive, haunt and haven of a great many renowned Indian *Ṣūfīs*, the city that had served over the centuries as a nursery for innumerable Muslim mystics who took the torch of spiritual solace to the farthest frontiers of the Subcontinent, had been treated in all the previous works as a part of a big whole, and as an entity in itself had received scant attention at the hands of his illustrious predecessors, Ṣādiq Hamadānī ventured to write the first hagiography exclusively treating of the *Ṣūfīs* of that city. The confusion and consternation that had followed the appearance of the first edition of the *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, however, served as an eye-opener to our author, and as such, except for the accounts of four celebrated *Khalīfas* of his spiritual preceptor, Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh, his teacher Shaykh ʻAbd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, and a passing reference to his maternal uncle, Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī, Ṣādiq Hamadānī scrupulously avoided the mention of his contemporaries and confined his work to those architects of the edifice of Muslim culture in India whose mortal remains had found their final abode in Delhi.

For the accounts of the earlier generations of the *Ṣūfīs* he relied, quite naturally, on the previous authorities and gleaned all the relevant material on the subject that was scattered throughout their pages. To fill in the gaps in the spiritual genealogies of these *Ṣūfīs* he depended on

23. *Adhkār-i Abrār* (Agra 1326/1908).

the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds* of Maulānā Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān-i Jāmī, a veritable authority on the early mystics of Islam and on extremely popular work in Naqshbandī circles.[24]

As for the generation of mystics that immediately preceded him, Ṣādiq Hamadānī derived his information from such exemplary and erudite transmitters as Maulānā Ḥasan Kashmīrī and possibly from Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī also. The notices of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz and Shaykh Ḥusayn Naqshī are two pertinent examples in this regard.[25] Similarly, his information about his own ancestors, including his maternal grandfather, Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad Kashmīrī, is based upon hearsay and oral family traditions. Another category of *Ṣūfīs* included in the work comprises personally known distinguished contemporaries of Ṣādiq Hamadānī who had died long before the composition of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn.*[26] the fact that no other work mentions these celebrities eloquently speaks for the importance of the *Kalimāt.* Still another invaluable component of the *Kalimāt,* which can rightfully be described as its consummation and crown, is the section dealing with Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh and his *Khalīfas,* namely Shaykh Tāj Sanbhalī, Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn Aḥmad, Miyān Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī and Miyān Shaykh Ilāhdād of Amroha. Though the description is not as exhaustive as could be expected, for he had already treated of this topic at length in an independent work,[27] hence it provides the earliest information and comes from one who was in close proximity with the Naqshbandiyya *Khānqāh*, its authenticity and importance cannot be over-emphasized.

The account of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh is followed by fifty-five of his aphorisms that have been mainly culled from his own works, namely, his *Malfūẓāt,* his letters, his exegesis on some chapters of the Qur'ān, and his commentary on some mystical quatrains generally known as the *Sharḥ-i Rubā'iyāt.*

The *Malfūẓāt,* or the discourses of the Khwāja, which start with an account of his early career and close with a detailed description of the twilight of his life, were compiled by one of his anonymous devotees.

24. References to this work are also seen in the notices of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' and Amīr Khusrau Dihlawī. See Persian Text, pp. 42, 83.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-40; 144-45.
26. The accounts of Maulānā Ismā'īl 'Arab, Shaykh Buhlūl Dihlawī, Shaykh Ḥājjī Muḥammad, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī Biyābānī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ajōdhanī, Shaykh Walī Muḥammad Dihlawī and Sayyid Muḥammad Muḥtasib fall into this category.
27. See *supra*.

The writer who, out of unpardonable modesty, avoids mentioning his name, on 1 Ṣafar 1009/12 August 1600 for the first time attended the assembly of the Khwāja and, impressed by the spiritual vein of his utterances, decided to commit them to paper. He privately prepared the account of some of these gatherings and, on 6 Ṣafar/17 August he formally sought the permission of the Khwāja to record his conversations. Seeing his interest and insistence, the Khwāja reluctantly granted his request and asked him to show him whatever he wrote. Filled with excitement, the writer immediately produced his record of some of the Khwāja's previous assemblies. The Khwāja glanced through the pages and forbade him to continue the work, for similar things had been written by several authors and there was no point in repeating them. However much the writer pleaded that he was doing this for the ennobling and enlightenment of his soul, the Khwāja, who was not to be taken in by such excuses, rendered him speechless by asking why he did not read what had been written by the authors of the past instead of re-writing them and attributing them to him. The writer was disappointed for the time being, but he did not lose hope. After the lapse of about eight months, in Ramaḍān 1009/March 1601 he again put his request before the Khwāja, and finally, through the intercession of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī and some other senior disciples of the great saint, succeeded in eliciting his approval, with the condition that he would strictly confine his record to utterances that had direct bearing on the mystic path and would not commit to paper any of the anecdotes and parables that might be narrated otherwise in the course of conversation. He undertook to abide by the instructions and from 11 Ramaḍān, 1009/16 March 1601, again started recording the discourses of he Khwāja and continued doing so until the death of the latter on 25 Jumādā II, 1012/2 July 1603. During this period of almost three years the writer, who was in military service, does not appear to have been a frequent visitor to the assemblies of the Khwāja: only fifteen of the assemblies that he attended bear dates. The discourses of the Khwāja, which cover a variety of mystical topics, are both interesting and absorbing and, give an invaluable insight into the psyche and philosophy of the great mystic. The epilogue that treats of the last days of the Khwāja's life, records his obsequies and includes the elegies and chronograms composed by his devotees on his death, is also very informative and instructive. Although the subsequent biographers of the Khwāja immensely drew upon this work, the book itself is still in manuscript and its only complete copy, known as the *Biography of Muḥammad al-Bāqī*, is preserved in the Delhi Persian Collection[28] of the India Office Library, London.

28. *MS.* 1158c.

Couched in a very polite idiom and interspersed with appropriate verses and frequent references to the writings of the earlier *Ṣūfī* masters, the letters or *Maktūbāt* of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh deal with the different obstacles encountered by his followers in the pursuit of mystic path. They also shed some light on *Ṣūfī* terminology. The expatiation upon various phases and facets of mystic revelations is yet another important aspect of these letters. The letters pulsate with a unique ethical spirit that makes them equally instructive to the ordinary reader as well as to the mystic neophyte. In short, the work is a compendium of the teachings and principles of the Naqshbandiyya order as seen by its greatest exponent in India. All the letters are undated and the addresses of most of them are also unknown. A substantial portion of the manuscript, generally known as the *Sharḥ-i Rubā'iyāt-i Muḥammad Bāqī*, preserved in the Delhi Persian Collection of the India Office Library, consists of the epistles of the Khwāja.[29] Another carefully transcribed copy of the *Maktūbat-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh Bīrang* dated Rajab 1108/ December-January 1696-97 is in the possession of Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, of the Australian National University, Canberra. Most of the letters in these two collections are common to both.

The first aphorisms of the Khwāja quoted by Ṣādiq Hamadānī have been taken from the *Tafsīr*, or exegesis on some chapters of the Qur'ān, reportedly compiled by the Khwāja, but no copy of this work now seems to exist.

The *Silsilat al-Aḥrār*, or *Sharḥ-i Rubā'iyāt* is another important work of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh. The Persian phrase *Naẓm-i Wujūb* reveals the thought content of the work and also yields its date of completion, *i.e.* 1007/1598-99. In the preface to the work the Khwāja explains that some people, out of their paltry nature, ignorance and lack of proper grasp of exalted mystical realities, tried to put wrong interpretations on the basic tenets of mysticism and in doing so cast aspersions on the great *Ṣūfī* masters of the past. It was to remedy this situation that he was compelled to compose this treatise. The work consists of pantheistic quatrains interspersed with a commentary in prose. A manuscript of this book is preserved in the Delhi Persian Collection[30] of the India Office Library, London.

29. *MS.* 1158f.
30. *Ibid.*

Another of the *oeuvres* of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh that Ṣādiq Hamadānī drew upon in the account of his spiritual preceptor was the *Mathnawī* of the Khwāja. This *Mathnawī*, consisting of more than one thousand verses covering a wide range of mystical subjects, not only throws a great deal of light on the mystical outlook of the Khwāja but also gives useful information about the early lives of his sons, Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh and Khwāja 'Abd Allāh. A manuscript of this work is also preserved in the Delhi Persian Collection[31] of the India Office Library, London.

The *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī* and the *Mabda'-o Ma'ād* are two other sources of the *Kalimāt* that deserve a mention here. The *Maktūbāt*, or the letters of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī comprise three volumes, chronogrammatically known as the *Durr al-Ma'rifat* (1025/1616-17), the *Nūr al-Khalāyiq* (1028/1618-19) and the *Ma'rifat al-Ḥaqā'iq* (1031/1621-22). The first volume contains 313 letters while the second and third comprise 99 and 113 letters respectively. By the time of the compilation of the *Kalimāt* in 1023/1614, only 240 of the Shaykh's letters had been collected. Ṣādiq Hamadānī was also one of the addressees of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, and he is known to have received six letters of the Shaykh.[32]

The letters of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, which were mainly written in response to queries received from time to time from his devotees and disciples, deal with various facets of Islamic faith and practice. They have been published several times.

In Ramaḍān 1019/November-December 1610 Khwāja Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Kishmī,[33] a devout follower of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, prepared a concise miscellany of fifty-four extracts from the letters of his preceptor and named it the *Mabda'-o Ma'ād*. The representative character of the quotations, coupled with their terseness, made the writings of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī accessible to a far wider circle than was otherwise possible. The work soon became popular and was frequently referred to by the subsequent writers. It was published in Kanpur in 1309/1891.

The element of miracles and supernatural deeds of the mystics,

31. *MS.* 1158g.
32. See Appendix II.
33. For his life, see *supra*.

however little it may be, is an indispensable part of the *Ṣūfī* hagiographies. The *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Hamadānī is no exception to this rule. Although generally he avoided the mention of superstitious things, at moments he failed to resist this temptation. One such instance is the story of the infatuation of one of the soldiers of Sikandar Lōdī with an idol and the subsequent disappearance of the idol from the temple, this story he reproduced from the *Wāqi'āt-i Mushtāqī*, an extremely ill-arranged quasi-historical work by Shaykh Rizq Allah Mushtāqī, an uncle of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. The *Wāqi'āt* which is one of the earliest and most valuable authorities on the Afghan period, abounds in miracles, apparitions, and stories of demons and enchantments that testify to the credulity of the author and of the age in which he lived. The work is still unpublished; two of its manuscripts are available in the library of the British Museum, London,[34]

(iii) The *Kalimāt* as a Pioneer and Precursor

The *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* not only pioneered a distinct genre of hagiographies dealing with the *Ṣūfīs* of a particular region but also heralded the appearance of two important Naqshbandī biographical works, the *Zubdat al-Maqāmāt* and the *Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*. The *Dhikr-i Jami'-i Auliyā'-i Dihlī* by Muḥammad Ḥabīb Allāh bin Shaykh Jahān (born in 1080/1669-70) is a continuation of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn*. Although Muḥammad Ḥabīb Allāh also starts his work with the *Ṣūfīs* of the early centuries, the real worth of his work lies in its latter part, that bridges the gap of more than one century, from the time of the *Kalimāt* to the composition of his own work in 1140/1728-28. This work is still in manuscript and copies of it are available in the India Office,[35] British Museum,[36] and the Punjab University, Lahore, libraries.

The *Zubdat al-Maqāmāt* of Khwāja Muḥammad Hāshim Kishmī[37] is essentially a biography of the author's spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, compiled at the request of the latter's sons. He had not proceeded far with his work when the Shaykh died in 1034/1624. Kishmī continued with his work however, and completed it in 1037/1627-28. His book is divided into two major parts, which in turn consist of several sections. The first part, besides treating of the biography and teachings of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh, contains notices on his

34. MSS. Add. 11633 and Or. 1929.
35. Delhi Persian 594.
36. Or. 1746.
37. For his life, see *supra*.

sons and *Khalīfas.* The second part comprises a comprehensive account of the life of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, wherein the author treats of his ancestors, his descendants, his teachings, his *Khalīfas* and his disciples at full length. The works of the Khwāja have been extensively drawn upon in the first part of the book, while the information about Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī is mainly first-hand and reliable. Being the earliest biography of one of the foremost lights of the Naqshbandiyya order, who not only consolidated the gains of Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh but also endowed it with a new scope and dimension, the *Zubdat al-Maqāmāt* occupies a unique position in the Naqshbandī literature of the Subcontinent. The information it gives about several of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī's addressees makes it all the more important. The book has been published.[38]

The *Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds* is another important biography of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī,[39] compiled by his favourite disciple Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Sirhindī. The author gives the *Darajāt al-Abrār* as the chronogrammatic name of the book, yielding 1043/1633-34 as its date of completion, but dates as late as 1053/1643-44 are also visible in the text. The book starts with the accounts of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, which are followed by the notices of the Naqshbandī saints down to Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqī Bi'llāh. The first of the three chronograms that Shaykh Badr al-Dīn reproduces in connection with Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh's death, belongs to Ṣādiq Hamadānī; though he does not mention him by name. The account of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh is followed by the notes on his two sons, Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh and Khwāja 'Abd Allāh and his three *Khalīfas,* Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Sanbhalī, Khwāja Ḥusām al-Dīn Aḥmad Dihlawī and Shaykh Ilāhdād of Amroha. The rest of the book comprises the biography of the author's spiritual guide Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī and his descendants and *Khalīfas.* Shaykh Badr al-Dīn, however, does not devote as much space to the latter's father and his spiritual preceptors as had been done by the earlier biographer, Khwāja Hāshim Kishmī. Until recently only the Urdū translation[40] of the *Ḥaḍarāt* was generally available, but now the portion of the Persian text dealing with the life of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī and his descendants and *Khalīfas,* has also been published.[41]

Another important feature of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* that attracted

38. Kanpur, 1890.
39. For his life, see *supra.*
40. Tr. Maulawī Khwāja Aḥmad Ḥusayn Khān (Lahore, n.d.), in two volumes.
41. Lahore, 1971.

the attention of the later writers is the authenticity of the dates mentioned in this book. Muḥammad bin Rustam bin Qubād, author of the *Ta'rīkh-i Muḥammadī*, a monumental work on the chronology of the political events and the dates of the celebrated men of Islam down to the year 1190/1776-77, refers to it as one of his basic authorities.[42]

(iv) The Kings of Delhi

However vital might have been the contribution of the *Ṣūfīs* and mystics in the consolidation and spread of Islam in India there is no denying the fact that the credit for elevating this exotic creed to the status of a state religion, initiating a completely new social order, encouraging Muslim learning, lore and languages, and popularizing the Perso-Islamic arts in this new, but historic, land mainly goes to the Turkish warriors and men of arms who became the Sulṭāns of Delhi. The chronicles that followed the advent of Muslim power in India were essentially the records of these kings and conquerors and as such, generally revolved around their camps, campaigns and conquests. Using the canopy of the imperial court as their observation post, these historians, and their successors, evinced little interest in the passion and pain, the joy and sorrow, of the common man. If the *Ṣūfīs* and sages engaged their attention it was mainly due to any, or all, of these considerations: the writer had some personal links with the saint, the mention of the relations of the latter with the ruling monarch illuminated some otherwise obscure aspect of his patron's life or at least, depicted the auspicious character of his reign. On the other hand, the *Ṣūfī* literature — hagiographies, hagiographies, collection of discourses and anthologies of letters — also treated of the rulers in a very superficial manner and, except for a few casual remarks, hardly paid any heed to their activities and achievements. On the contrary, what they really portrayed vividly and vigorously were the ambitions and aspirations of the common man. It was his relief and grief, his weal and woe, that found expression in their works besides, indeed, their own teachings, preachings and principles. Towards the close of the eminent men of the past as well as those of their own times. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, Abū al-Faḍl, and Firishta gave succinct accounts of the *Ṣūfīs* and scholars in their histories, while Badāyūnī devoted the whole of the third volume of his celebrated *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* to the biographies of his contemporaries, distinguished in the fields of mysticism, medicine and scholastic studies. It was with this background that Ṣādiq Hamadānī resorted to the innovation of interweaving the accounts of the

42. British Museum Ms. Or. 1824, f. 4*b*.

Muslim monarchs of Delhi — the Slaves, the Khaljīs, the Tughluqs, the Sayyids, the Afghāns, the Mughuls, and the Sūrī interregnum — in the warp and woof of his work which was basically a *Ṣūfī* biography. These accounts, which are spread throughout the *Kalimāt* and endow it with an historical undertone, do not follow any chronological order or dynastic sequence; the author places them wherever he thinks convenient. Mostly, however, the account of every king follows the notice of one of his contemporary *Ṣūfīs*. Rulers of little or no significance belonging to a common dynasty are usually strung together and mentioned as part of the account of some major monarch of that house.

Among the books mentioned by Ṣādiq Hamadānī as his source — 'the *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, the *Sayr al-Auliyā'*, the *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* and other tracts'[43] — there is only one political chronicle, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* of Qaḍi Abu 'Umar'Uthmān ibn Minhaj-i Siraj Jurjani, which is a general history of the Muslim dynasties of Asia, extending from 194-658/810-1260. The book is divided into 23 chapters, the last dealing with the irruption of the Mongol infidels into Islam. The 22nd chapter exclusively treats of the Shamsi kings, while the early Ghūrid invasions of India are discussed in the preceding chapter. The work, although meagre in details, is highly prized as one of the earliest authorities on the advent and establishment of Muslim power in northern India. All the accounts of the kings of the Slave dynasty, contained in the *Kalimāt*, are based upon this book. The date of Sultan Shams al-Din's death is, however, wrongly recorded in the latter.[44]

For the accounts of the Khaljīs, the Tughluqs, and the Sayyids, Ṣādiq Hamadānī mainly relied on the *Sayr al-Auliyā'*, the *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* of Ḍiya' al-Dīn Baranī and the *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* of Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad Sirhindī. The dates of some of the incidents recorded in these works, and drawn upon by Ṣādiq Hamadānī in the *Kalimāt*, however, defy corroboration by more reliable authorities. The detail follows:

(i) Ṣādiq Hamadānī places the death of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban and the accession of his successor and grandson, Mu'izz

43. Persian Text, p. 2.
44. Ṣādiq Hamadānī records 14 Sha'bān 633/23 April 1235 as the date of his death but according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (p. 450) the Sulṭan died on 20 Sha'bān, 633/29 April, 1235. Yaḥyā bin Ahmad Sirhindī (*Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain (Calcutta 1931, p. 20) also follows the *Ṭabaqāt*.

al-Dīn Kayqubād in the year 685/1286-87.[45] Baranī,[46] Amīr Khurd[47] and Firishta[48] also accept the same year for the latter's accession but according to Amīr Khusrau the incident took place in 686/1287-88.[49] 'Iṣāmī[50] and Yaḥyā[51] also follow suit.

(ii) Like Baranī[52] and Amir Khurd,[53] Ṣādiq Hamadānī mentions 688/1289-90[54] as the year of the accession of Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī, but Amīr Khusrau assigns this to the following year, 689/1290.[55] Yaḥyā Sirhindī also records the same year, but according to him the accession took place in Rabī' II and not in Jumada II, as mentioned by the latter.[56]

(iii) The *Kalimāt* records 717/1317-18 as the year of the death of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī[57] and the accession to the throne by his son, Quṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.[58] According to Amīr Khusrau, however, the Sulṭān died on 7 Shawwāl 715/6 January, 1316.[59]

(iv) According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Quṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh died in 721/1321.[60] This date runs counter to the statement of Amīr Khusrau, according to whom the Sulṭān died in 720/1320. This date is also corroborated by numismatic evidence.[61]

45. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 50. The year of the accession of Mu'izz al-Dīn Kayqubād, who succeeded his grandfather, however, curiously enough, is recorded (Persian Text, p. 46) as 680/1281-82, which can possibly be an error of the *Kātib*.
46. *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 127.
47. *S.A.*, p. 584.
48. *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 83.
49. *Qirān al-Sa'dayn*, p. 27.
50. *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn*, p. 52.
51. *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 52.
52. *Ta'rīkh Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 175.
53. *S.A.*, p. 587.
54. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, pp. 46-41. After a few pages (*ibid.*, p. 53) 878/1473-74 is recorded as the year of his accession, which is incorrect.
55. *Miftah al-Futuh* quoted in the *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Urdu tr. Sayyid Mu'īn al-Ḥaqq (Lahore 1969), p. 277, fn. 2.
56. *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 61. For detail see K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis* (New York 1967), p. 15, fn. 1.
57. Persian Text, p. 29.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
59. *Dawal Rānī Khiḍr Khān*, ed. Rashīd Aḥmad Salīm Anṣārī (Aligarh 1336/1917), p. 259. Also see K.S. Lal, p. 270, fn. 21.
60. *Kalimat*, Persian Text, p. 51.
61. K.S. Lal, p. 322, fn. 45.

The *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* closes abruptly in 838/1434. Thereafter what specific sources Ṣādiq Hamadānī drew upon, is rather difficult to say. In any case in the dates of this latter period also there are some discrepancies in the *Kalimāt*. But, as is abundantly clear from the instances quoted above and the ones that follow, these discrepancies plague almost all the general histories and are not particularly the share of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn*. However, three more dates found inharmonious with other authorities are as under:

(i) Sādiq Hamadānī gives 847/1443-44 as the year of the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty.[62] Badāyūnī[63] also has the same year, but according to Firishta[64] the Sultan died in 849/1446-47 and this date is accepted by the modern authorities.[65]

(ii) According to Sādiq Hamadānī, Shīr Shāh Sūrī died in 951/1544-45[66] whereas all other authorities unanimously assign his death to the year 952/1545-46.[67] His exact date of death, as recorded by Abū al-Faḍl[68] and Khwāja Ni'mat Allāh,[69] is 11 Rabī' I, 953/23 May 1545. He was succeeded by his son Salīm Shāh Sūr.

(iii) According to Ṣādiq Hamadānī, Salīm Shāh died in 959/1551.[70] Abū al-Faḍl[71] and Firishta[72] assign his death to the year 960/1552-53 whereas Badāyūnī[73] and Ni'mat Allāh[74] place it in the year 961/1553-54 and the same is accepted by modern historians.[75]

62. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 116.
63. *M.T.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 397.
64. *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 171.
65. See *M.T.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 399, fn. 7; C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh 1967), p. 187.
66. *Kalimāt*, Persian text, pp. 117, 125.
67. *M.T.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 482, 484; Abū al-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, ed. Āghā Aḥmad 'Alī and Maulawī 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Calcutta 1887), Vol. I, p. 336; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 229; Khwāja Ni'mat Allāh, *Ta'rīkh-i Khān-i Jahānī*, ed. S.M. Imām al-Dīn (Dacca 1960), Vol. I, p. 351.
68. Abu al-Faḍl, Vol. I, p. 336.
69. *Ta'rīkh-i Khān-i Jahānī*, Vol. I, p. 386.
70. *Kalimāt*, Persian Text, p. 117.
71. *Akbar-nāma*, Vol. I, p. 337.
72. *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 231.
73. *M.T.*, Eng. tr., p. 533. Some manuscripts of the *M.T.* have 690/1552 also. See *ibid.*, fn.2.
74. *Ta'rīkh-i Khān-i Jahānī*, Vol. I, p. 386.
75. See C.E. Bosworth, p. 187. Edward Thomas (*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871, p. 410), Stanley Lane-Poole (*The Muhammadan Dynasties*, New York 1975 repr., p. 300) and Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi (*The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 4th rev. edn., Karachi, 1958, p. 264), however, hold 960/1545 as the year of Islām Shāh's death.

About the Sur kings (947-962/1540-55) the attitude of our author is also characterized by the general mood of his times. Flourishing as he did under the Mughuls, like other historians of that period he also looked upon them as usurpers and persisted in referring to them as Khans instead of Shahs. Whether he really nursed any hatred against the Sur kings or simply followed the time-honoured convetion of Mughul historians to condemn them, is open to all sorts of speculations.

IX. THE PRESENT RECENSION

(i) Manuscripts

The present recension of the *Kalimāt* is based upon four manuscripts, the first of which,[1] dated 19 Ramaḍān 1123/31 October 1711, is preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library, Mashhad, Iran. Copied by one 'Abd Allāh Kātib in mature Nasta'līq, it consists of 312 pages, with 6½" by 3" written space and 15 lines to a page. The names of the *Sufis* at the beginning of their notices and the word *Kalimāt* that marks the start of each of their aphorisms are in rubric. The manuscript is without pagination, but the pages 126-129 are erroneously placed between pages 221-222. Although the last few pages are slightly month-eaten, the manuscript is in a generally good condition. The letter (ا) in the section on variants in the Persian portion stands for this manuscript.

The 2nd manuscript of the *Kalimāt*, and the only one noticed by Storey[2], is preserved in the Khudā Bakhsh Oriental Public Library[3], Patna, India. Transcribed in ordinary Nasta'liq by an anonymous scribe for Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī, son of Sayyid Sa'd al-Dīn bin Sayyid Muhammad Ṣādiq bin Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Ma'nawī, son of Qudwat al-Fuḍalā' Sayyid 'Abd al-Wāhid, of Shāhābād, a suburb of Shāhjahānābād, this manuscript comprises 117 folios, out of which folio 19 is misplaced between folios 10 and 11. Written space on each page of this manuscript measures 6½" by 3½" and there are 15 lines to a page. The titles and the word *Kalima* throughout the manuscript are written in red ink. Folios 1 and 82 bear the owner's stamps, but in the rather poor quality of the microfilm at our disposal, they are too vague to be deciphered. Among the orthographic peculiarities of this manuscript which

1. MS. No. 283 (History) – 7876.
2. C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, London, 1953, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 985, No. 1311.
3. MS. No. 671. This library was previously known as the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore.

set it apart from the others, the following are particularly important:

The letter (ی) is generally transcribed as (ي) and in places where by rule and requirement (ئی) or (یٔ) would have been necessary, a simple (یی) has been made us of. Likewise, the round (· ة) at the end of words of Arabic origin, which generally changes into a straight (ت) in Persian writings, has been retained as it is, with the result that بهجت is written as بهجة . Moreover, *hamza* is not only seen at the end of Arabic words, such as *'Ulama'* and *Khulafa'*, but sometimes it has been unnecessarily added to Persian words as well. For example, فردا is written as فرداء. In fact, the scribe has been so indiscriminate in the use of *hamza* that he failed to differentiate between its grammatically correct usage as in علماء دین and where it violated all rules, like in فرداء قیامت and سراء چمن Sometime ٔ has also been employed as *iḍāfī*, but stilll a *hamza* has been superimposed over it, as in دریائی کبال and افسانہائی درد . Though a common feature of the Indian origin, this *hamza* is redundant. The letter (ب) in the section on variants denotes the manuscript.

The 3rd manuscript of the *Kalimat*, rubber-stamped 'Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khalil' on fol. 1 a, presently forms part of the private collection of Mr. 'Ārif Naushāhī, of Islamabad. It is probably the best and the oldest of all the known codices. Graced with thepatina of age, bound together with an equally old manuscript of the *Musāfir Nāma*, a travelogue of doubtful authenticity[4] attributed to Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī generally known as Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān Jahāngasht (d. 785/ 1384), written in the same hand, and rich in a variety of marginal notations, mostly in an intricate *Shikasta* style, the manuscript is transcribed in mature Nasta'līq, and its written space measures 6¾" by 3½", with 15 lines to a page. Out of its total 166 folios, the folios 27-29, which appear between folios 26-30, should actually follow folio 13. Unlike other manuscripts, here the word *Kalima* is not accompanied by the relevant numeral, but on the other hand, wherever there occurs a verse in the course of the narrative, it is almost invariably preceded by the caption *bayt* in rubric. The most important distinctive feature of this manuscript, however, is the notice of Mīr Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad generally

4. C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, Vol. I, Part 1, London, 1927-39, *p. 945; Riazul Islam*, 'Collection of the Malfuzat of Makhdum-i Jahanian (1307-88)', *The Proceedings of the All Pakistan History Conference First Session Held at Karachi – 30th, 31st March and Ist April, 1951*, compiled by S. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1953 (?), p. 216; Muḥammad Ayūb Qādirī, *Haḍrat Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahāngasht*, Karachi, 1975, pp. 84-88.

known as Ghāzi Khān Badakhshī which follows the account of Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz Jaunpūrī. The letter (ج) in the section on variants indicates this manuscript.

The 4th manuscript of the *Kalimat* belongs to Dr. Qurayshī Aḥmad Ḥusayn Aḥmad Qal'adārī, of Gujrat. Deficient in the first few pages, it starts from the middle of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī's notice and in all comprises 95 folios, out of which folios, 7, 88 and 89 are blank. There are 15 lines to a page whose inner dimensions are 6½" by 4". The manuscript which once formed part of the library of one Mirzā Mughul Bēg Khān and then during the last quarter of the 13th/19th century was acquired by Faqīr Allāh Sādhū Saḥḥāf Lāhaurī, owing to the perpetual depredations of the insects, has been reduced to a critical condition. The letter (د) in the section of variants refers to this manuscript.

(ii) Methodology

The time span during which the manuscripts described above were gradually discovered and made use of in the preparation of the present recension of the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn* extends well over a decade and a half. Given the rather mediocre quality of the manuscript (ب), the only one noticed by Storey, the discovery of the Mashhad codex, the date of whose transcription went as far back as 1123/1711, that is, exactly one hundred years since the composition of the actual work, and which was not only complete in all respects, but was also copied quite legibly finally turned out to be the leaven for the whole project. It was chosen as the basis of the proposed critical recension and in the course of the work, if any lacuna or ambiguity was encountered, it was overcome with the help of the extremely poor microfilm available of the Patna manuscript. Meanwhile, the search for more and better manuscripts of the *Kalimāt* continued unrelented, until a couple of years ago, when the present work was going to the press, the present writer, quite unexpectedly, within a brief period of a few months, stumbled upon two manuscripts designated (ج) and (د) above. Although the quality of the Manuscript (ج), which was probably as old as the *Kalimāt* itself, strongly favoured its choice as the basis of the new edition, owing to constraints of time and resources, instead the improvements and emendations following from the latest two finds were incorporated into the existing text, which was to a great extent, based upon manuscript (ا). As a natural consequence of this compromise, the additional notice of 'Mīr Niẓām al-Dīn' found only in manuscript (ج), had to be

shifted to the end of the Persian Text as an Appendix, which, in its turn, was followed by the section entitled (اختلافات نسخ) encompassing the variants characterizing each of the four manuscripts used.

Whereas in the original manuscripts the notices of various monarchs have been strung together with the accounts of their contemporary *Ṣūfīs* and they go virtually unnoticed, to make them distinct from the ordinary narrative, wherever these monarchs have been treated for the first time, a bolder type has been used for their names.

The points calling for elaboration, or the portions of the text whose sources were treaceable, or which had been drawn upon or reproduced by subsequent writers in their works, have been marked out with an asterisk. Necessary information about the points thus marked can be found in the section entitled Annotations, immediately following this Introduction by referring to the corresponding page and the line number of the Persian Text, recorded at the start of each entry.

ANNOTATIONS
TO THE PERSIAN TEXT

* *Page 1, 1.5* *Iḥyā'*, Vol. IV, p. 256; Hujwīrī, p. 70.

* *Page 1, 1.6* Qur'ān 10:62.

* *Page 1,1.19* 'Aṭṭār, p. 9.

* *Page 2, 1.20* The defective nature of the available manuscripts has rendered it impossible to work out the chronogram.

* *Page 4, 1.23* *Qirān al-Sa'dayn* (Nawalkishore edn. 1871), pp. 22-25.

* *Page 6, 1.6* According to the *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, his father died when he was one and a half years old.[1]

* *Page 6, 1.16* He was a disciple of Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Tabrīzī,[2] a strict anchorite who would not accept any offering whatsoever.[3] After his death, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn attached himself to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī,[4] and served him with such zeal and enthusiasm that the great Shaykh lavishly bestowed his spiritual blessings on him. Suhrawardī was still alive when Jalāl Tabrīzī left for India via Nishapur and Multan.[5] From Multan he went to Delhi where he enjoyed the best of relations with Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.[6] His sojourn in Delhi, however, culminated in a sad episode: Najm al-Dīn Ṣughrā, the Shaykh al-Islām of Delhi, tried to implicate him in a fake case of sexual intemperance. Although the conspiracy ultimately recoiled on the Shaykh al-Islām himself, and Shaykh Jalāl was exonerated, by that time he had already been banished from Delhi whence he went to Badāyūn.[7] In Badāyūn his main acquaintance was Qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn Ja'farī,[8] and those upon whom he conferred his spiritual beatitude were 'Alī Maula[9] and 'Alā' al-Dīn Uṣūlī, later on a

1. See Jamālī, p. 17.
2. *F.F.*, p. 113; *K.M.*, p. 151.
3. *F.F.*, pp. 194-95; *K.M.*, p. 151.
4. *F.F.*, p. 194.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
6. *F.F.*, p. 165.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59; *A.A.*, p. 43; cf. *F.F.*, p. 147.
8. *F.F.*, pp. 249-50; *K.M.*, pp. 211-12.
9. *F.F.*, p. 147; *A.A.*, pp. 43-44.

teacher of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'.[10] Otherwise, like Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī, he was also very strict in the acceptance of disciples.[11] Towards the later years of his age, he went to Bengal and ultimately died there.[12]

* *Page 6, l.20* (Lucknow 1890), pp. 67-68.

* *Page 6, l.21* *S.A.*, p. 48.

* *Page 6, l.22* Imām Abū al-Layth Naṣr bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Khaṭṭāb al-Samarqandī, a famous Ḥanafite theologian, traditionalist and jurisconsult of 4th/10th century. He was born in 290/902-3. He studied under his father and various other Shaykhs whose names he mentions in the *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* as transmitters of some of the Traditions of the Prophet and sayings of others quoted by him in that book. As an author he was very successful and his works were, and are still, studied from Morocco to Indonesia. He passed away sometime between 373/983-84 and 393/1002-3, 373/983-84 being the year recorded in his earliest known biography and more popularly quoted by later hagiologists. Two of his works, namely the *Bustān al-'Ārifīn* and the *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* are preserved in Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Patna.[13]

* *Page 6, l.1* Shaykh Abū Ḥāmid Auḥad al-Dīn, of Kirmān, was a disciple of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Sanjāsī, who traced his spiritual lineage to Shaykh Abū Najīb Suhrawardī through Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Abharī.[14] He enjoyed the best of relations with such great contemporaries as Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī[15] and Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī. The latter even mentioned his name in some of his works.[16] His encounter with Shams-i Tabrīz, the famous preceptor of Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, is also mentioned by some authorities. According to them, Auḥad al-Dīn was in the habit of 'contemplating the Truth through the medium of its Manifestations in Phenomena, and beholding Absolute-Beauty in finite form'. On being asked by Shams-i Tabrīz, as to what he was doing, he replied that he was contemplating the Moon in a bowl of water, meaning the Beauty of the Creator in the beauty of the creature; to which Shams-i Tabrīz replied: 'Unless you are afflicted with a carbuncle on the back of your neck why do you not look at the Moon in the sky'.[17] In his moments of poetical ecstasy he would compose mystical verses which can be seen in subsequent biographical works.[18] The authorship of an allegorical *Mathnawī*, the *Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ*, which has a remarkable affinity to the *Divina Commedia* of Dante, has also, throughout the

10. *F.F.*, p. 179.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
12. *A.A.*, p. 45.
13. Bankipore, Vol. XIII, pp. 2-3. Also see *E.I.*, s.v. 'Abū'l-Layth al-Samarkandī'.
14. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 588. Cf. Daulatshah, p. 233; Browne, Vol. III, p. 139.
15. *F.F.*, p. 39, *A.A.*, p. 57.
16. *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 588-89.
17. *Ibid.*, Browne, p. 139.
18. *F.F.*, p. 40, *Nafaḥāt*, p. 591; Browne, p. 140.

centuries, been attributed to him.[19] But modern research has made it abundantly clear that the work is actually the composition of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardsīrī Kirmānī, and not that of Auḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī.[20] Similarly, the long held belief of Auḥadī of Maragha's being a disciple of Auḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī,[21] has also been challenged by modern scholars for anachronistic reasons.[22] Shaykh Auḥad al-Dīn is generally believed to have died *circa.* 635-36/1237-39.[23]

Page 6, 1.25 *Rijāl-i ghayb* or the invisible men were believed to be a mysterious creature which attracted the attention of their favourite pious people, talked to them without being seen, and even carried them off to their own place of residence. In the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād,*[24] we read that a young contemporary of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī was frequently visited by these spirits. At the time of the obligatory prayers, those who were present at his house arranged themselves in an orderly fashion and one of these *Mardān-i ghayb* led the congregational prayers. The worshippers heard him recite the Qur'ān and followed his commands throughout the prayers, but they never saw him. One of these invisible men even sent a present to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī through that youth.

According to yet another anecdote narrated by the Khwāja,[25] a man called Khwāja 'Alī used to be visited by these spirits who always greeted him in the usual Muslim fashion. Once they called on him in a large number and repeated the salutation "Peace unto you". Khwāja 'Alī lost his temper and said that how long they would continue greeting him in that manner and why they did not come face to face with him. The *Mardān-i ghayb* did not like this attitude and stopped visiting Khwāja 'Alī.

The Mughul emperors, Humāyūn[26] and Akbar also believed in the existence of these creatures. The latter is even reported to have invoked their assistance in one of his battles.[27] In 1143/1730-31 a number of Bilgrāmī Sayyids were killed in a battle between Nawwāb Sarbaland Khān and Raja Abhī Singh Rāthōr. According to Sayyid Muḥammad since the body of one Sayyid Ghulām Muṣṭafā

19. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 591; Browne, p. 140; Rypka, p. 254.
20. *Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān-i Furūzānfar (Tehran 1349 H.Sh.), Introduction.
21. *Daulatshāh*, pp. 232-33; *Nafaḥāt*, p. 606; Browne, p. 141; Rypka, p. 254.
22. Ṣafa, Vol. III, p. 833.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Khwāja Niẓām al-Dīn Auliya', *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, comp. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī 'Ala', Urdu tr. Muḥammad Sarwar, Lahore, 1973, pp. 69-70.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Khwāja Ni'mat Allāh, *Ta'rīkh-i Khānjahānī wa Makhzan-i Afghānī*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Imām al-Dīn, Dacca, 1960, Vol. I, pp. 311-12.
27. Ḥājjī Muḥammad 'Ārif Qandahārī, *Ta'rīkh-i Akbarī*, ed. Sayyid Mu'īn al-Dīn Nadwī and Sayyid Aẓhar 'Alī Dihlawī, and revised by Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī, Rāmpūr, 1962, p. 179.

could not be discovered from the battlefield, probably it had been whisked away by the *Mardān-i ghayb.*[28]

Page 7, 1.1 In the mystical hierarchy of Islam, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī occupies a very distinguished position of being a link between 'Alī, the patriarch of Islamic mysticism, and the succeeding generations of Muslim saints and mystics. Although writers who sought to discredit the *Ṣūfīs*, such as Ibn al-Jauzī, have cast doubts about his meeting with 'Alī,[29] he is generally held to be the transmitter of 'Alī's spiritual grace, benediction and heritage to posterity.[30] He was born in Madinah, named Ḥasan on the advice of 'Umar,[31] and spent his early childhood under the care of Umm Salmā, one of the wives of the Prophet, in whose house his mother served as a maid-servant.[32] He received his education at Basra and grew to be one of the foremost theologians, a distinguished scholar of different sciences, a veritable *Muḥaddith* and an extremely eloquent preacher.[33] Anguish and grief were so distinct in his appearance that whosoever saw him thought that some calamity of unthinkable magnitude had befallen him.[34] His self-mortification, uncompromising piety and outspoken condemnation of worldliness which often stirred the wrath of the aristocracy against him,[35] were proverbial. When he was delivering his sermons even the presence of the most notorious of tyrants, Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf, and the army of his bodyguards accoutred in the panoply of war, would not deter him from uttering what he believed to be right, fair and perfect.[36] Similarly if he noticed that somebody was in the wrong and would not rectify his error of belief or deed, he would not hesitate in driving him out of his audience and that was exactly what he did in the case of Wāṣil bin 'Aṭā' al-Ghazzā, the head of the Mu'tazila.[37] He died at Baṣra, on 1 Rajab, 110/10 October, 728.[38]

* *Page 7, 1.2* According to Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī, the correct word is not Hārūnī, but Harūnī, without *alif*, and it referred to the place

28. Sayyid Muḥammad Bilgrāmī, *Tabṣirat al-Nāẓirīn*, MS., Pīr Ḥusām al-Dīn Rāshidī Collection, Karachi (1979), p. 167.
29. *Tilbīs Iblīs*, Cairo edn., 1928, p. 191, quoted in J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Ṣūfī Orders in Islām* (Oxford 1971), p. 262, note 1.
30. E.g., see Abu Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt al-Qulūb*, Cairo, 1310, Vol. I, p. 149 quoted in *E.I.*, s.v. 'Ḥasan al-Baṣrī'.
31. 'Aṭṭār, pp. 30-31.
32. *Ibid.;* Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 69; Slane, Vol. I, p. 370.
33. See Abū Nasr al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma' fī'l-Taṣawwuf*, ed. R.A. Nicholson (London 1963 repr.), pp. 17, 22, 25, 142, 422, 344 and 425; Hujwīrī, p. 103; Nicholson, p. 80; 'Aṭṭār, pp. 30-48; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, pp. 69-73; Slane, Vol. I, pp. 370-373.
34. Qushayrī, p. 210.
35. See *E.I.*, s.v. 'Ḥasan al-Baṣrī'.
36. 'Aṭṭār, p. 34.
37. Abū Manṣūr Abd al-Kāhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *Moslem Schisms and Sects (Al-Fark Bain al-Firak)*, tr., Kate Chambers Seele (New York 1966), p. 121.
38. Ibn Khallikān, p. 72; Slane, Vol. I, p. 364.

of origin of Hadrat Khwāja 'Uthmān.[39]

* *Page. 7, l.5* As is apparent from his cognomen, Shāmī, Khwāja Abū Ishāq Shāmī was a native of Shām (Syria). According to Jāmī, he was an associate of Shaykh Abū Mamshād 'Alawī Dīnwarī, who traced his spiritual origin through Shaykh Hubayra Basrī, and Shaykh Hudhayfa Mar'ashī, to Shaykh Ibrāhīm Adham.[40] His tomb is also at Acca, in Syria,[41] but true to the long standing tradition of mystics peregrinating from one part of the world to the other, he also appears to have travelled extensively. He was in Chisht before the birth of his prospective disciple and later successor, Khwāja Abū Aḥmad Abdāl Chishtī, in 260/873-74, whose birth and then pre-eminence as a saint and founder of a distinct order of mystics he is said to have prophesied.[42] Khwāja Abū Ishāq possibly stayed for a long time in and around Chisht because it was at the age of twenty that Khwāja Abū Aḥmad, while on a hunting expedition, came across him in the midst of forty other saints, and renouncing the world joined his company.[43] Biographical details about Khwāja Abū Aḥmad are also scarce, however, his father is said to have been a member of the ruling echelon of the day, who tried his best to dissuade his son from adopting the mystic way of life, but to no avail. Khwāja Abū Aḥmad died in 355/965-66 and was buried in Chisht. He was succeeded by his twenty-four year old son, Khwāja Abū Muḥammad whom he had particularly groomed for the position. He was a contemporary of Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030) but Jāmī's statement that he took part in the latter's expedition to Somnath, at the age of seventy[44] is anomolous and chronologically incongruous with the historical facts. If he was twenty-four at the time of his father's death in 355/965-66, he should have been seventy in 401/1010-11, whereas the expedition to Somnath, according to Al-Bīrūnī, Gardīzī and Ibn al-Athīr, took place in 416/1025.[45] The year 401/1010, however, coincides with the final subjugation of Multan by Maḥmūd.[46]

Khwāja Abū Muḥammad bin Abū Aḥmad was succeeded by his sister's son, Khwāja Yūsuf, whom he had brought up under his own extensive care and supervision. Khwāja Yūsuf renounced the world at a comparatively later age and took to a life of seclusion and severe ascetic austerities. This phase of his life continued for about twelve years. When Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī came to visit

39. *Khayr al-Majālis*, Urdu tr. (Karachi: Wahid Book Depot, n.d.), p. 45. Cf. *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*. ed. Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, Tehran, 1314 (?) H. Sh., p. 327, where a place called Harwin has been mentioned in Sistan. Apparently, Shaykh 'Uthman hailed from this town.
40. *Nafahāt*, pp. 322-23.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 323. Sayyid Aṣīl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Wā'iz, *Maqṣid al-Iqbāl Sulṭāniyya*, ed. Mā'il Harawī (Tehran 1351 H.Sh.), pp. 119-20.
43. *Nafahāt*, p. 323; *Maqsid al-Iqbāl*, p. 120.
44. *Nafahāt*, p. 324; also see *Maqsid al-Iqbāl*, p. 121.
45. Muḥammad Nāzim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge 1931), p. 214.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

the tombs at Chisht, he met Khwāja Yūsuf also and was so impressed by his spiritualism and piety that later on, during the course of his conversations, he used to recall that meeting and praise his sanctimony. Khwāja Yūsuf died in 459/1066-67, at the age of 84, leaving his eldest son, Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn Maudūd as his successor.[47]

Khwāja Maudūd was twenty-six at the time of his succession. He had memorized the Qur'ān at the age of seven and was still busy in the acquisition of knowledge at the time of his succession. None the less, he appears to have been a haughty and proud man until he was ultimately mellowed by his contemporary Shaykh Aḥmad Jām. The latter once visited Harat and was very cordially received by the inhabitants of the town, including the descendants of Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī. Shaykh Maudūd who was eight years older than Shaykh Jām, construed it to be a challenge to his supremacy and an undue interference in his spiritual domain, and tried to throw him out, first by spiritual power, failing which the recourse to physical force was also contemplated. But Shaykh Aḥmad Jam's pre-emptive strike frustrated his designs and obliged him to accept his spiritual superiority. Thereafter he remained for three days in Shaykh Jām's company and benefited from his beatitude. Before seeing him off, Shaykh Jām exhorted him to first equip himself with knowledge, since a mystic without knowledge was not more than a pawn in the hand of Satan, and then dedicate himself to the revitalization of the mystical heritage of his great ancestors. Accordingly, Shaykh Maudūd travelled to Balkh and Bukhara in pursuit of knowledge and remained there for four years, thence he came back to Chisht and worked assiduously for the revival and consolidation of the Chishtiyya order, for the rest of his life. He died in 527/1132-33, leaving his son, Khwāja Aḥmad Maudūd as his successor.[48]

Shāh Sanjān Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 597/1200-01) and Khwāja Ḥājjī Sharīf Zandanī were two of the other prominent disciples of Khwāja Maudūd Chishtī. Jāmī[49] gives a brief notice about the former but the latter's name appears in Indian chronicles[50] only and they too fail to provide any substantial information about him. Similarly, little is known about the life of his disciple, Khwāja 'Uthmān Harwānī Nīshāpūrī, the spiritual preceptor of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī.

Page 7, l.7 Ḥudhayfa bin Qatāda Mar'ashī was a disciple of Ibrahīm bin Adham and appears to have accompanied him during at least, some of his wanderings.[51] His contemporaries held him in high esteem and looked upon him as a

47. *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 325-26; *Maqṣid al-Iqbāl*, pp. 122-23.
48. Khwāja Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghaznawī, *Maqāmāt-i Zhanda Pīl*, ed. Hashmat Allāh Mu'ayyid-i Sanandijī (Tehran 1340 H.Sh.), pp. 63-65; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 326-29; *Maqṣid al-Iqbāl*, pp. 123-24; *Tarā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq*, Vol. II, p. 134.
49. *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 329-30.
50. 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn*, ed. A.S. Usha (Madras, 1948); *K.M.*, p. 8.
51. Qushayrī, pp. 259-60.

paragon of piety.[52] He died in 207/822-23.[53]

Page 7, l.7 Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm bin Adham bin Manṣūr is said to have been a ruler of Balkh who renounced his sceptre and crown and took to a life of piety and asceticism.[54] He owed his spiritual initiation to the Prophet Khiḍar and learned the knowledge of divinity from Imām Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān bin Thābit.[55] He is reported to have lived and travelled with a large number of contemporary *Ṣūfīs*, including Fuḍayl bin 'Iyāḍ, Sufyān Thaurī,[56] Sahl bin Ibrahīm,[57] Muḥammad bin Mubārak al-Suri,[58] and Abū Ibrāhīm Yamanī.[59] He led a life of simplicity and austerity and made out his subsistance with the labour of his own hand[60] but still his self-abnegation and concern for the welfare and comfort of others was remarkable. This latter quality of his character captured the imagination of Leigh Hunt who wrote the following poem about him:[61]

Abou ben Adhem (may his tribe increase!)
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich and like a lily in bloom,
An angel writing in a book of gold.
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold,
And to the presence in the room he said.
"What writest thou?" The vision raised his head,
And with a look made all of sweet accord,
Answered "The names of those who love the Lord",
"And is mine one?" said Abou. "Nay not so",
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low
But cheerily still; and said "I pray thee then
Write me as one that loves his fellow men".
The angel wrote and vanished. The next night
He came again with a great wakening light,
And showed the names whom love of God had blest,
And lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest.

He died in 161/777-78.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
53. *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Pt. 1, p. 62.
54. Sulamī, p. 27; Qushayrī, p. 25; Hujwīrī, p. 128; Nicholson, p. 103; 'Aṭṭār, p. 102; *E.I.*, s.v. 'Ibrāhīm Adham'.
55. Hujwīrī, p. 128; Nicholson, p. 103.
56. Sulamī, p. 27.
57. Qushayrī, p. 26.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 657.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 679.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
61. Claud Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islam* (London 1910), pp. 44-45.

* *Page 7, 1.8* Fuḍayl bin 'Iyāḍ bin Mas'ūd bin Bishr, of the tribe of Tamīm, was initially a notorious highwayman, but later on he repented of his sins and entered upon the path of piety and asceticism.[62] He was so remorseful of his past career that the rest of his life was spent in the pursuit of divine knowledge and mystical lucubrations. He never laughed nor did a smile ever appear on his face except once when his son, 'Alī, died. Asked the reason for this seemingly unwarranted act on his part, 'God willed that this lad should die, so did I in compliance with His will', was his reply.[63] His exhortations and admonitions to Hārūn al-Rashīd[64] are a glaring proof of his disregard for the world and the worldlings. On the contrary, his life was so enshrouded in grief and agony that in 187/803,[65] when he passed away in Makkah,[66] 'Sadness disappeared (from the world)', was the spontaneous reaction of Ibn Mubārak,[67] one of his celebrated contemporaries.

* *Page 7, 1.10* *A.A.*, p. 25.

* *Page 7, 1.14* *Ibid.*, p. 24.

* *Page 7, 1.15* *S.A.*, p. 49.

* *Page 7, 1.18* *F.F.*, p. 72; *S.A.*, p. 49.

* *Page 7, 1.22* *S.A.*, pp. 40-50.

* *Page 8, 1.3* *F.F.*, pp. 120-121; *S.A.*, p. 50.

* *Page 8, 1.23* *S.A.*, p. 15.

* *Page 9. 1.4* See 'Aṭṭar, p. 86.

* *Page 9, 1.17* *S.A.*, pp. 48-49.)

* *Page 9, 1.2* The concept of '18,000 worlds' was introduced into Islamic literatures by the early Jewish converts to this new creed, especially by Abū 'Abd Allāh Wahab bin Munabbih.[68]

* *Page 10, 1.2* A special type of bread, *Ka'k* and *cake* are respectively the

62. Qushayrī, p. 28; Hujwīrī, p. 120; Nicholson, p. 97.
63. Queshayrī, p. 28.
64. Hujwīrī, pp. 122-24, Nicholson, pp. 98-100.
65. Sulamī, p. 8; Qushayrī, p. 27.
66. Qushayrī, p. 28.
67. *Ibid.*
68. For details, see Muhammad Parwīn Gunābādī, *Hijdih Hazār 'Ālam*, in *Yādnāmih-i 'Allāma Amīnī*, ed. Sayyid Ja'far Shahīdī and Muhammad Raḍā Hakīmī, Tehran 1361 H.Sh., pp. 21-32.

Arabicized and Anglicized forms of this word, but, in these two languages, especially in English, the word has altogether different connotations.[69]

* *Page 10, 1.3* *S.A.*, p. 50.

* *Page 10, 1.3* Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī was born in Kot Karor, near Multan. Having learnt the Qur'ān by heart and familiarized himself with its seven standard styles of recitation, after the death of his father, at the age of twelve, he set out on a long and hazardous journey which spread over a number of years, and took him to Transoxiana, Khurasan, Makkah, Madinah, Jerusalem and Baghdad. Through all these years he was busy in the acquisition of knowledge and the enhancement of his spiritual experience. So, by the time he met Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn in Baghdad, he was ripe to take over the mantle of responsibility. The great Shaykh kept him with himself for seventeen days and then, to the surprise of several of his old disciples, nominated him as his *Khalīfa*[70] and directed him to go back to Multan and take in hand the task of popularizing the Suhrawardiyya order in that region.[71] Reaching Multan, Bahā' al-Dīn dedicated himself to the spreading and stabilizing of that order and, by the time he died in 661/1262,[72] Multan had become a renowned centre of Suhrawardiyya *Silsila*. Considering that his was a pioneer task and that he started it single-handedly and that, too, at a later date as compared to the contemporary Chishtiyya order, the stupendous amount of labour he had had to put in is not difficult to imagine.

Bahā' al-Dīn laid more emphasis on obedience to the Qur'ānic injunctions and the basic tenets of Islam, both in letter and spirit, than on arduous ascetic exercises. Unlike contemporary Chishtī saints, he led a fairly affluent life and his *Khānqāh* was also quite well-known for its prosperity and opulence.[73] The latter evoked much criticism both from his contemporaries[74] and from succeeding generations of saints.[75]

During the reign of Sultān Shams al-Dīn he was raised to the position of *Shaykh al-Islām*. This was both a lucrative and a prestigious position, and must have gone a long way in alleviating the miseries of his disciples at the hands of petty government officials.

69. See *Lughat-nāma-i Dihkhudā*, s.v. '*Kāk*'; Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī Imām Shūshtarī, *Farhang-i Wāzhih-hā-i Fārsī dar Zabān-i 'Arabī*, Tehran, 1347 H.Sh., s.v. '*Ka'k*' (p. 585).
70. Jamālī, pp. 103-104.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
72. *A.A.*, p. 27.
73. See *F.F.*, pp. 236-37.
74. See *A.A.*, pp. 29-30.
75. See Dārā Shukūh, *Sakīnat al-Auliyā'*, ed. Tārā Chand and Sayyid Muhammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā'īnī (Tehran n.d.), p. 61.

Though 'Irāqī was the most outstanding and reputed of all his *Khalīfas*,[76] Bahā' al-Dīn was succeeded by his son, Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Ārif. Shaykh Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Darwīsh, a contemporary of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, was his disciple and *Khalīfa*. Besides him, Shaykh Jamāl Khandān Rūy-i Ūchī, Darwīsh Ṣadr al-Dīn Sīstānī, Shaykh Aḥmad bin Shaykh Muḥammad Ma'shūq,[77] Maulānā 'Alā al-Dīn Khujandī[78] and Maulānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Multānī[79] are also mentioned among his disciples, and recipients of his spiritual blessings.

Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Ārif was, in his turn, succeeded by his son and *Khalīfa*, Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ. Rukn al-Dīn visited Delhi twice during the days of Sulṭan 'Ala' al-Dīn Khaljī and thrice during the reign of his son, Quṭb al-Dīn.[80] The latter's relations with Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn of Delhi, being far from cordial, he tried to make capital out of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn's visits to Delhi,[81] but the amity and understanding that characterized the relations between the two saints frustrated all these attempts. On his last visit to Delhi during Quṭb al-Dīn's time, Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn stayed in Delhi for more than three years and he was still there when Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn passed away and his funeral prayer was led by him.[82] Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn 'Uthmān Shaykh Sunnāmī and Sayyid Jalāl Makhdūm Jahāniyān were two of Rukn al-Dīn's most distinguished disciples. He died in 735/1334-35 and was buried in Multan.

*	*Page 10, 1.7*	*F.F.*, pp. 120-121; *S.A.*, p. 50.
*	*Page 10, 1.13*	*S.A.*, p. 50; *G.A.*, f. 22.
*	*Page 10, 1.14*	*S.A.*, p. 52.
*	*Page 10, 1.16*	*S.A.*, p. 53.
*	*Page 10, 1.23*	*S.A.*, pp. 53-54.
*	*Page 11, 1.4*	For his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 110, No. 184.
*	*Page 11, 1.15*	*S.A.*, p. 55.
*	*Page 11, 1.17*	*F.F.*, p. 262; *S.A.*, p. 55.
*	*Page 11, 1.23*	Shaykh Aḥmad Jām nicknamed Zhanda Pīl was a famous

76. Jamālī, pp. 108-10.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
81. *A.A.*, p. 64.
82. See *A.A.*, p. 65.

Ṣūfī who lived during the Saljūqid period. He was born in 441/1049-50 at Turshiz, in Khurasan and led a somewhat boistrous life until at the age of twenty-two, in 463/1070-71, he was overtaken by divine passion and his life took a turn for the better. He had no regular noviate training, but sought his own way in solitude which lasted for about eighteen years. Thereafter he came out of seclusion and took over the task of guiding the people, which he continued until his death in 536/1141-42, at the age of ninety-six. He was buried in Ma'dabad, which is now known as Turbat Shaykh Jām (Iran).[83]

* *Page 11, 1.25* *F.F.*, p. 159; *S.A.*, p. 55; *G.A.*, f. 22.

* *Page 12, 1.2* For a description of his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 47, No. 59.

* *Page 12, 1.3* *F.F.*, p. 159; *S.A.*, p. 55.

* *Page 12, 1.5* For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 20, No. 9.

* *Page 12, 1.5-15* *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, Vol. I, pp. 440-42.

* *Page 13, 1.2* 'Aṭṭār, p. 364.

* *Page 13, 1.17* *S.A.*, pp. 56-57.

* *Page 14, 1.21* For a description of her tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 67, No. 135.

* *Page 14, 1.24* *A.A.*, p. 28.

* *Page 15, 1.1* Jamali, p. 12.

* *Page 15, 1.5* Authentic biographical details of his life have vanished. The only source of our information about him is Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā', who made stray references to his miraculous deeds, in the course of his conversations.[84] Subsequent writers have simply repeated those anecdotes without substantially adding any new element into them.[85] All that is known about him is that he was a resident of Ghazni, lived in the late 6th/12th century, and, at least once, visited Balkh, where Maulānā Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin As'ad al-Balkhī met with him. In view of his high stature and strong physique, Maulānā Burhān al-Dīn was still wondering if he could be a man of God, when the Shaykh accosted his attention and said: 'I have bought the heritage of my father. That is

83. For his life and works, see *Nafaḥāt*, p. 357; *Maqamāt-i Zhanda Pīl*; *K.M.*, p. 177; *E.I.*, s.v. 'Aḥmad Jām'.
84. *F.F.*, pp. 9, 65-66, 68, 169, 207; *S.A.*, pp. 572-73.
85. *K.M.*, pp. 225-26; *A.A.*, p. 28.

why my physique is so strong'.[86]

* *Page 15, 1.5* K.M., pp. 225-26; *A.A.*, p. 28.

* *Page 15, 1.18* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 56, No. 77.

* *Page 15, 1.19* *G.A.*, f. 19*b*. The entire account is based on *G.A.*, f. 19*b*.

* *Page 16, 1.10* *A.A.*, p 36.

* *Page 16, 1.15* There is no such reference in the printed edition of the *Akhbār al-Akhyār*. See *A.A.*, pp. 36-43.

* *Page 16, 1.23* Jamālī, p. 21.

* *Page 17, 1.1* *F.F.*, p. 8.

* *Page 17, 1.10* *S.A.*, pp. 256, 519.

* *Page 17, 1.12* *F.F.*, p. 253; *S.A.*, p. 526.

* *Page 17, 1.13* *F.F.*, p. 252.

* *Page 17, 1.16* A MS. of this work is preserved in the Ḥabīb Ganj Collection of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

* *Page 17, 1.19* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 45, No. 56.

* *Page 17, 1.20* *S.A.*, pp. 56-57.

* *Page 18, 1.8* *A.A.*, p. 36; *F.F.*, p. 253; *S.A.*, p. 573.

* *Page 18, 1.13* *A.A.*, p. 36.

* *Page 18, 1.14* *F.F.*, pp. 164-65; *S.A.*, p. 502.

* *Page 18, 1.16* Shaykh Badr al-Dīn bin 'Alī bin Isḥāq was a devoted disciple, *Khalīfa* and son-in-law of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar. He was a resident of Delhi. After the completion of his education in that city, to obtain further accomplishments he decided to go to Bukhara, the reputation of which as a great centre of learning had made it the coveted goal of every student and scholar in the Islamic world. On his way to Bukhara, he passed through Ajodhan where, on the recommendation of a friend, he decided to visit Shaykh Farīd and seek the

86. *S.A.*, pp. 572-73.

answers to the questions that had been vexing his mind for some time and had remained unresolved even by the scholars at Delhi. The explanations he got from the Shaykh, however, far exceeded his expectations. The enormous knowledge of the Shaykh, combined with his extreme simplicity and austerity, so captivated his heart that Badr al-Dīn enrolled as a disciple immediately. Consequently, he so distinguished himself in the service of his spiritual preceptor that the Shaykh not only entrusted him with the superintendence of the hospice but also gave him the hand of one of his daughters. After the Shaykh's death his relations with the Shaykh's descendants became strained and ultimately, at the instance of Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī, another of the Shaykh's prominent *Khalīfas,* he left the main hospice to them, and shifted to a nearby *Jum'a* mosque.

He was the author of a book on rhetoric, styled *Taṣrīf-i Badarī.* Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn studied this book under him and was allowed by him to teach others.

Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Isḥāq died in Ajodhan and was buried in the aforementioned mosque, where he had taught the Qur'ān during his lifetime.[87]

* *Page 18, l.24* F.F., p. 165.

* *Page 19, l.4* A.A., p. 38.

* *Page 19, l.8* A.A., p. 39.

* *Page 19, l.23* Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā bin Mu'ādh bin Ja'far al-Wā'iẓ al-Rāzī[88] was a well known ascetic and a distinguished preacher of his time. He was the first among his class to mount the pulpit after the Orthodox Caliphs.[89] His sermons always had a ring of hope and optimism around them. He was the author of many books, fine sayings and original precepts. 'Alī Hujwīrī was very fond of his sayings, which, according to him, were delicately moulded, pleasant to the ear, subtle in substance and profitable in devotion.[90] From his native town of Rayy, Yaḥyā went to Khurasan. His brother, Ibrāhīm, who was accompanying him died between Nishapur and Balkh[91] while he himself reached Balkh and lived there for some time, whence he came back to Nishapur, where he died in 258/872.[92]

* *Page 20, l.17* See Hujwīrī, p. 70; 'Aṭṭār, p. 19; *Iḥyā',* Vol. IV, p. 256; *Ṣūfī-nama,* p. 183; *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāya,* p. 378.

87. *S.A.*, pp. 269-78. Also see *ibid.*, p. 192.
88. Sulamī, p. 107. His elder brother Isma'il and younger brother, Ibrahim, were also ascetics.
89. Hujwīrī, p. 153; Nicholson, pp. 122-123.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Sulamī, p. 107.
92. *Ibid.*; Qushayrī, p. 43; *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,* Vol. II, p. 81; *Nafaḥāt,* p. 56.

* *Page 20, 1.21* See Hujwīrī, p. 75.

* *Page 21, 1.5* *F.F.*, p. 187; *S.A.*, p. 343.

* *Page 21, 1.13* *G.A.*, f. 13.

* *Page 21, 1.22* *G.A.*, f. 23.

* *Page 22, 1.4* See *G.A.*, f. 24.

* *Page 22, 1.17* *F.F.*, pp. 205-206.

* *Page 23, 1.6* *F.F.*, pp. 206, 271.

* *Page 23, 1.13* For the tomb of Bībī Sārā, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 40. No. 46.

* *Page 23, 1.14* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 40, No. 45.

* *Page 23, 1.22* *A.A.* (p. 45) reads:

گر کرامت عام شد وقت زبیر هان عذاب ور بعمل محکم شد وه که حبا دیدنی است

* *Page 23, 1.23* *Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Nabawiyya fi Ṣiḥāḥ al-Akhbār al-Muṣṭafawiyya,*[93] by Ḥasan bin Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252) is a collection of *Ḥadīth* taken from the author's two works, *Miṣbāḥ al-Dujā* and *al-Shams al-Munīra*, and *al-Shihāb*[94] by Quḍā'ī (d. 454/1064), and *al-Najm* by Iqlīshī (d. 550/1155). Traditions are arranged according to 100 grammatical regents (*'āmil*),[95] and each tradition is accompanied by a reference to Bukhari and Muslim. Ḥājjī Khalīfa has noticed several commentaries on this work.[96]

* *Page 23, 1.23* The author of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*, Abū al-Faḍā'il Imām Ḥasan bin Muḥammad bin Ḥasan bin Ḥaydar bin 'Alī al-'Adawī al-Ṣaghānī[97] commonly called Raḍī al-Dīn, was born at Badayun in 577/1181. During his early

93. The work with an Urdu translation by Maulawī Khurram 'Alī, was lithographed in Lucknow, in A.H. 1319.
94. This book has been very popular over the centuries and several commentaries, translations and condensations of it have been compiled. See *Sharḥ-i Fārsī-i Shihāb al-Akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānish Pizhūh (Tehran 1349, H.Sh.), Preface, pp. ii-iv. The author of the commentaries noted on serial nos. 13 and 18 (*ibid.*, p. iii) is the same as that of *Mashāriq al-Anwār* but Dānish Pizhūh has wrongly ascribed them to two different persons.
95. Bankipore, Vol. V., p. 94; 'Abd al-Hayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir wa Bahjat al-Nawāẓir*, Hyderabad, India, Vol. I, 1962, p. 107.
96. *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, p. 107.
97. Ṣaghānī means pertaining to Ṣaghāniyān, which is the Arabicized form of the work Chaghāniyān, a town in Transoxiana (Sam'ānī, f. 352*b*), Ikrām (*Āb-i Kauthar*, pp. 6, 81) and Dānish Pizhūh (*Sharḥ-i Fārsī Shihāb al-Akhbār*, Preface, p. iii) both have failed to take cognizance of this fact and have read this word as San'ānī and Safā'ī respectively, which are incorrect.

age he was taken to Ghazna where he studied under his father and several other teachers, and soon established himself as a distinguished scholar of *Ḥadīth* and philology. Sulṭan Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak (602-607/1206-10) heard of his sanctity and offered him the judgeship of Lahore, which he declined.[98] After performing pilgrimage and spending much time in the company of various scholars in Makkah and 'Iraq, including Niẓām al-Marghīnānī,[99] he went to Baghdad and before long got himself established among court circles. Caliph Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575-622/1180-1225) bestowed honours on him and in 617/1220-21, commissioned him as his personal emissary to the court of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-35/1211-36) in India, where he stayed a little less than two decades. Departing from India in 634/1236-37, he performed a second pilgrimage at Makkah, and returned to Baghdad via Yemen. By this time the caliphate had passed into the hands of Mustanṣir Bi'llāh (625-40/1226-42), who received him with respect, and despatched him back to India on a second mission. Ṣaghānī returned to Baghdad in 637/1239-40 and stayed there until his death in 650/1252.[100] His mortal remains were taken to Makkah and buried there.[101] He was a prolific writer and a diligent teacher at the same time. Besides a lot of books,[102] he was survived by a great many students including Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Abī al-Khayr As'ad al-Balkhī, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī, Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Umar al-Harawī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū al-Baqā' Ṣāliḥ bin 'Abd Allāh bin Ja'far bin 'Alī bin Ṣāliḥ al-Asadī Al-Kūfī, commonly known as Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh.[103]

* *Page 24,1.1* *F.F.*, p. 251; *S.A.*, pp. 523-24.

* *Page 24, 1.5* *S.A.*, pp. 523-24.

* *Page 24, 1.15* For his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 110, No. 183.

* *Page 24, 1.24* For a description of Turk Biyābānī's grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. I, p. 56, No. 102.

* *Page 25, 1.10* For his tomb see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. IV, p. 57. No. 106.

* *Page 25,1.13* *G.A.*, f. 38*b*. His correct *Laqab* is Sadīd al-Dīn. See Muhammad Niẓam'ud-Din, *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwāyāt* (London 1929), pp. 3-4.

98. 'Abd al-Ḥayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Vol. I, p. 105.
99. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt fī Ṭabaqāt Lughawiyyīn wa al-Nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo (?), 1964, Pt. I, pp. 519-20.
100. *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, p. 105.
101. Khwānd Mīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 79.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-8; *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 520.
103. *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, p. 106. Also see *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, pp. 520-21.

* *Page 25, 1.16* The correct name of the book is *Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt wa Lawāmi' al-Riwayāt.* See *ibid.*

* *Page 26, 1.4* A famous commentary on the *Qudūrī* of Imām Abū Al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Qudūrī al-Baghdādī (d. 428/1037), by 'Alī bin Abī Bakr bin 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197). The work deals with Ḥanafī jurisprudence and was published from Calcutta in 1234. Also see its translation (from a Persian version) by C. Hamilton, London, 1791; 2nd edn. by C. Grady, London, 1870.[104]

* *Page 26, 1.8* *Kanz al-Daqā'iq* commonly called *Kanz*, by Abū al-Barakāt 'Abd Allāh bin Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) is a well known compendious compliation of discussions upon points of Ḥanfī *Furū'*. The work has been published several times: from Cairo 1309, Delhi 1870, Lucknow 1874, and Bombay 1877.[105]

* *Page 26, 1.8* Celebrated work on syntax, by Imām Abū al-Fatḥ Nāṣir al-Dīn Muṭarrizī Khwārazmī (d. 610/1213-14).[106]

* *Page 26, 1.8* *Al-Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Madhhab* commonly known as Ḥusami, by Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥanafī Akhsākatī (d. 644/1246-47). A concise treatise on the principles of Ḥanafī jurisprudence.[107]

* *Page 26, 1.13* Qāḍī 'Aḍud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Īgī (d. 756/1355) was a celebrated Iranian dialectician, logician and jurisconsult. Besides a band of reputed students[108] that he produced, his writings also set in motion a long train of commentaries and glosses that were written on his works by his own students and subsequent generations of scholars. On hearing of his erudition and excellent academic achievements, Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who is said to have been interested in the dedication of the Qāḍī's book called the *Mawāqif al-Sulṭāniyya* to himself, invited him to India through his personal envoy, Maulānā Mu'īn al-Dīn 'Imrānī. When the ruler of Shiraz, Shāh Shaykh Abū Isḥāq, came to know of this move, he called on the Qāḍī in person and to prevent him from going to India, as the story goes, besides other things, offered to step down from the throne in his favour. His sincerity so impressed the Qāḍī that he changed his mind and revoked the decision to go to India.[109] The high estimation in which

104. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, p. 235.
105. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, MS. 254.
106. Ṣafā, Vol. III, p. 290.
107. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. I, p. 73.
108. Like Maulānā Mu'īn al-Dīn Yazdī, Shams al-Dīn Kirmānī, Sayf al-Dīn Abharī, Sa'd al-Dīn Taftazānī, Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī Māhānī and Shāh Shujā' bin Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad. (See Safa, Vol. III, pp. 3, 27, 47, 96, 223, 229, 243-44, 246, 295-96, 1089, 1298.)
109. *A.A.*, p. 142; *G.A.*, f. 39; *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, pp. 167-68.

the Qāḍī was held in Shiraz is further testified by the great Persian poet, Ḥāfiẓ of Shiraz. In one of his odes, while reminiscing about the prosperity of Shiraz in the good old days of Shāh Abū Isḥāq Īnjū (743-54/1343-53), he calls the Qāḍī 'emperor of erudition' and refers to him as one of the five persons to whom the Shiraz of those days owed its glory.[110] He says:

بنای کار مواقف بنام شاه نهاد ، دگر شهنشه دانش عضد که در تصنیف

* *Page 26, 1.15* A.A., p. 142; *G.A.*, f. 39.

* *Page 26.1.16* *F.F.* (p. 262), Jamali (p. 15); *A.A.* (p. 49) mention his name as 'Khwāja Maḥmūd Mu'īna-dūz'.

* *Page 26, 1.20* *F.F.*, p. 262; Jamālī, p. 15.

* *Page 27, 1.15* For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. IV, p. 57. No. 106.

* *Page 27, 1.17* *G.A.*, f. 23*b*.

* *Page 27, 1.21* *A.A.*, p. 49.

* *Page 27, 1.22* The founder of the Suhrawardiyya order of mystics, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar bin Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Suhrawardī was a descendant of Abū Bakr, and a nephew and disciple of Shaykh Abū al-Najīb 'Abd al-Qāhir Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168).[111] According to Ibn Khallikān, who was his contemporary, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī was another of his masters.[112] The Shaykh was a great *Ṣūfī*, profound scholar, reputed Shāfi'ite jurisconsult, and a zealous preacher of Islam.[113] He is reported to have had a great number of *Khalīfas* in India,[114] including Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī,[115] Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī,[116] Shaykh Turk Biyābānī,[117] Maulānā Majd al-Dīn Ḥājjī Jājarmī,[118] and Shaykh Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Rūmī,[119] but the main credit for the propagation and the consolidation of the Suhrawardiyya *Silsila* in India, goes to Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' and his descendants and disciples.

Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī died in Baghdad in 632/1234.[120]

109. *A.A.*, p. 142; *G.A.*, f. 39; *Ma'athir al-Kirām*, pp. 167-!
110. *Dīwān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, p. 363.
111. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III, pp. 446, 205; Slane, Vol. II, pp. 382, 151.
112. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III, p. 446; Slane, Vol. III, p. 382. Also see *A.A.*, p. 16.
113. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III, pp. 446-47; Slane, Vol. III, pp. 382-83.
114 *A.A.*, p. 36.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
116. *Ibid*, p. 36.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
120. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III, p. 448; Slane, Vol. II, p. 384; *Nafaḥāt*, p. 473.

- * *Page 35, l.8* — *Nafaḥāt*, p. 504.
- * *Page 35, l.10* — Qur'ān, 57: 11.
- * *Page 35, l.15* — *A.A.*, p. 59.
- * *Page 35, l.18* — *S.A.*, p. 100. Also see *F.F.*, pp. 163-64.
- * *Page 35, l.21* — See *supra* page 10, line 3.
- * *Page 36, l.5* — See *F.F.*, p. 169.
- * *Page 36, l.5* — *F.F.*, p. 178.
- * *Page 36, l.5* — *Ibid.*(p. 87) reads: ح باب
- * *Page 36, l.6* — *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) is an encyclopaediac work on Islamic mysticism and one of the main sources of Kāshānī's *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāya*, which is an outstanding work on the subject in its own right. The book was published on the margin of Ghazālī's *Iḥya'*, Cairo, 1289, 1358.[124]
- * *Page 36, l.6* — *Al-Tamhīd fī Bayān al-Tauḥīd wa Hidāyat li-Kull Mustarshid wa Rashīd* generally referred to as *Tamhīd*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Sayyid bin Shu'ayb Ḥanafī Sālimī, is a work on Sunnī *Kalām* wherein polemical replies have been given to the opposing arguments of the philosophers, the Mu'tizilites, and others. According to internal evidence the author lived in the 5th/11th century. The work was published from Cairo in 1338/1919-20.[125]
- * *Page 36, l.7* — *F.F.*, p. 34; *S.A.*, p. 106.
- * *Page 36, l.12* — *A.A.*, pp. 54-59.
- * *Page 36, l.15* — *S.A.*, p. 492; *A.A.*, p. 58.
- * *Page 36, l.22* — *S.A.*, p. 324; *A.A.*, p. 58.
- * *Page 36, l.25* — *S.A.*, p. 362; *A.A.*, p. 59.
- * *Page 37, l.3* — *F.F.*, p. 216; *S.A.*, pp. 412-13; *A.A.*, p. 59.

124. 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī Kāshānī, *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāya wa Miftāḥ al-Kifāya*, ed. Jalālal-Dīn Humā'ī (Tehran, n.d.).
125. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, p. 339; S.Van Ronkel, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts reserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences* (The Hague 1913), pp. 118-19.

* *Page 28, l.3* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 99, No. 157.

* *Page 28, l.12* *S.A.*, p. 164; *A.A.*, p. 50.

* *Page 28, l.24* *S.A.*, p. 62.

* *Page 29, l.1* *S.A.*, p. 505.

* *Page 29, l.7* *F.F.*, pp. 159-160; *S.A.*, p. 56.

* *Page 29, l.21* For his tomb and college, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 21, No. 10.

* *Page 30, l.2* *A.A.*, p. 50.

* *Page 30, l.15* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 80, No. 138.

* *Page 31, l.12* According to *G.A.* (f. 40*b*) he died in 780/1378-79.

* *Page 31, l.14* *G.A.*, ff. 43 *b*-44 *b*.

* *Page 33, l.23* For his grave see, *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 133, No. 133.

* *Page 34, l.2* *G.A.*, f. 65.

* *Page 34, l.5* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 84, No. 136.

* *Page 34, l.7* *G.A.*, f. 75.

* *Page 34, l.20* *S.A.*, pp. 94, 101.

* *Page 35, l.5* *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*[121] by Abī Muḥammad al-Qāsim bin 'Alī bin Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d. 516/1122-23) is a befitting testimony to its author's ability and vast knowledge. It is a pioneer work and a perfect model of *Maqāma*[122] writing in the Arabic language. An abundant amount of information regarding the Arabic language spoken by the Beduins, its idioms, proverbs and other delicacies can be seen in it.[123]

121. Printed in Cairo in 1326; a famous commentary on this work was also published from Cairo. See abi al-'Abbās Aḥmad bin 'abd al-Mū'min al-Qasiyy al-Sharīshūyy, *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* (Cairo, 1372/1952-53).

122. For the origin and evolution of this genre in Arabic *belles-lettres* and its influence on Persian literature see Muḥammad Taqī Bahār, *Sabk Shināsī* (Tehran, 1349 H.Sh.), Vol. II, pp. 324-56, and Fars Ibrāhīmī Ḥarīrī, *Maqāma-Nawīsī dar Adabiyyāt-i Fārsī* (Tehran, 1346 H.Sh.).

123. Slane, Vol. II, pp. 490-96. Also see Aḥmad bin 'Umar bin 'Alī Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahār Maqāla*, Muḥammad Mu'īn (Tehran, 1333 H.Sh.), p. 22.

- *Page 37, l.5* — *S.A.*, p. 243; *A.A.*, p. 59.
- *Page 37, l.8* — *F.F.*, p. 131; *S.A.*, p. 354; *A.A.*, p. 59.
- *Page 37, l.10* — It should be: بسا در ب See *F.F.*, p. 131.
- *Page 37, l.12* — *S.A.*, p. 321.
- *Page 37, l.19* — *F.F.*, p. 204; *S.A.*, p. 403.
- *Page 37, l.22* — *S.A.*, p. 403.
- *Page 38, l.1* — *F.F.*, pp. 41-42; *S.A.*, p. 403.
- *Page 38, l.6* — *F.F.*, p. 214; *S.A.*, p. 403; *Najāt al-Rashīd*, p. 444.
- *Page 38, l.6* — Abu Sa'īd Faḍl Allāh bin Abī al-Khayr Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Mihanī (b. 357/967, d. 440/1049) was one of the foremost *Ṣūfīs* and greatest theologians that Khurasan has ever produced. He had his first experience of mystical ecstasies in the audition gatherings which he attended as a child in the company of his father, and received his first instructions in mystical devotions from Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim Bishr-i Yāsīn (d. 380/990), who anticipated and prophesied the young lad's future grandeur and greatness in the realm of mysticism. Abu Sa'īd learnt the Qur'an from Bū Muḥammad 'Anāzī and attained proficiency in the use of language under the care of Bu Sa'id 'Anazi, in Muhana and then set out for Marv to study Shāfi'ite law under Imām abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusri, which he did for five years until the Imām died. He continued his study of *Fiqh* for five more years under another equally renowned scholar, Shaykh Imām Abū Bakr Qaffāl. Thereafter, he went to Sarakhs and started learning exegesis of the Qur'ān, dogmatics, and *Ḥadīth* from Abū 'Alī Ẓāhir bin Aḥmad. It was during his sojourn in this town that he came across a crazy mystic, Luqmān-i Sarakhsī, who took him to his friend, Shaykh Abū al-Faḍl-i Ḥasan's convent and consigned him to the latter's care. This incident lent a new lease of spiritual dedication to Abū Sa'īd's life and gradually he started devoting more and more time to mystic austerities and became detached from exoteric sciences. Before he could prove himself worthy of a spiritual robe (*Khirqa*) he underwent a long period of arduous ascetic practices and self-mortification, both under the strict supervision of his director in Sarakhs, and back home in Mihana. Every iota of his time, and every breath of his life was occupied with the Divine remembrance (*Dhikr*), solitary meditation and several other ascetic practices. For days he would disappear and spend his time in complete isolation and bewilderment in desolate places. When back home, he would slip away stealthily during the night-time, rush to a lonely building known as *Ribat-i Kuhan*, latch the door from inside and tie a rope around his feet with its other end fastened to a log of wood. Putting this wood across the mouth of a well in the building, he would

descend and suspend himself upside down and start chanting the Qur'ān which he would invariably finish before dawn. The recitation over, he would climb out of the well, restore everything to its proper place, renew ablutions, return home and retreat into bed and repose until his father would arouse him at daybreak for congregational morning prayers.

He obtained his spiritual robe from Shaykh Abū al-Faḍl-i Ḥasan, or according to some, upon his recommendation, from Abū al-Qāsim al-Naṣrābādī's celebrated disciple, Shaykh Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 412/ 1021). Another robe was given to him, at a later stage, by Abū al-'Abbās al-Qaṣṣāb Āmulī. Similarly, during his travels he came across Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Kharaqānī and was endowed with beatitude by him also. Some miracles are attributed to every Muslim saint and mystic, yet none surpasses Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Abū al-Khayr in this respect. His biographies are replete with instances of his miracles. He was particularly adept in thought reading. This clairvoyance of his stood him in good stead in many an odd situation and turned several of his foes into devoted friends. His eloquence of speech, exuberance of expression and exquisite style of exposition would always attract large crowds to his spiritual assemblies. His charity was well known and extravagance proverbial. He would host big, pompous feasts and spend money lavishly on them, regardless of the anger they provoked and the envy they aroused in his contemporaries.[126]

- *Page 38, 1.9* F.F., pp. 9-10; *S.A.*, p. 325
- *Page 38, 1.9* See *supra* Page 15, l. 5.
- *Page 38, 1.16* *S.A.*, p. 327.
- *Page 38, 1.18* *S.A.*, p. 328.
- *Page 38, 1.20* *S.A.*, p. 329.
- *Page 39, 1.3* *S.A.*, p. 366.
- *Page 39, 1.5* *S.A.*, p. 368.
- *Page 39, 1.8* *F.F.*, p. 222; *S.A.*, p. 400.
- *Page 39, 1.9* 'Ayn al-Quḍāt-i Hamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, p. 19, quoted in

126. For further details, see Muḥammad bin Munawwar bin Abu Sa'd bin Abi Ṭāhir bin Abī Sa'īd Mihanī, *Asrar al-Tauḥid fi Maqamāt-i Abī Sa'īd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā (Tehran 1348); Sam'ānī, f. 550; 'Aṭṭār, pp. 800-815; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 300-307; Luṭf 'Alī Bēg Ādhar, *Ātishkada-i Ādhar*, ed. Ḥasan-i Sadāt Nāṣirī (Tehran 1336-40 H.Sh.), Vol. II, pp. 663-67 with bibliography; R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge 1967 repr.), pp. 1-76; *E.I.*, s.v. 'Abū Sa'īd Faḍl Allāh bin Abī l Khayr'.

Raḥīm Farmanish, *Aḥwāl-o Athār-i 'Ayn al-Quḍāt-i Hamadānī* (Tehran 1338 H. Sh.), p. 369.

* *Page 39, 1.11* *S.A.*, p. 400.

* *Page 39, 1.13* *F.F.*, p. 87; *S.A.*, p. 400.

* *Page 39, 1.13* *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*[127] of Imām Abī Ḥāmid Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (450/1058–505/1111) is a compendium of *Ṣūfism* and asceticism, as well as Islamic doctrine in general. It is so comprehensive and exhaustive, both in size and content, that according to some eminent doctors of Islam, if all other works were to perish, the whole body of Islamic doctrine and mystical teaching could be restored from the present work alone.[128]

* *Page 39, 1.14* *Iḥyā'*, Vol. I, p. 231; *'Awārif*, Vol. III, p. 247; *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāya*, p. 334.

* *Page 39, 1.17* *S.A.*, p. 408.

* *Page 39, 1.22* *S.A.*, p. 411.

* *Page 40, 1.4* *S.A.*, p. 410.

* *Page 40, 1.6* *S.A.*, p. 411.

* *Page 40, 1.6* See *supra* page 38, line 6.

* *Page 40, 1.9* *F.F.*, p. 82; *S.A.*, p. 436.

* *Page 40, 1.13* *S.A.*, p. 437.

* *Page 40, 1.17* *S.A.*, p. 443.

* *Page 40, 1.20* *S.A.*, p. 455.

* *Page 40, 1.22* *S.A.*, p. 464.

* *Page 41, 1.15* *F.F.*, p. 264; *S.A.*, p. 503.

* *Page 41, 1.16* Ḥakīm Majd al-Dīn Majdūd bin Ādam al-Sanā'ī al-Ghaznawī (d. 545/1150-51) is the precursor of 'Aṭṭār (d. 627/1229-30) and Rūmī

127. Bulaq, 1289; Cairo, 1289, 1358, lithographed in Lucknow A.D. 1864.
128. Bankipore, Vol. XIII, p. 18. Also see Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, *Ghazzālī-nāma*, second rev. edn. (Tehran 1342 H.Sh.), pp. 243-47.

(d. 672/1273) in the writing of long mystical *mathnawīs* and, with them both, he constitutes the trio of arch-mystagogues in the realm of Persian poetry. In his works, besides expounding mystical and moral points, he deplores the moral depravity and social degradation that were rampant in his days and censures those responsible in the strongest terms. Very few Persian poets match him in the abiding influence he has been exercising over the centuries on the succeeding generations.[129] All of his works have been published.[130]

* *Page 42, 1.4* *F.F.*, p. 17.

* *Page 42, 1.10* *Ibid.*

* *Page 42, 1.11* *F.F.*, p. 21; *K.M.*, p. 84.

* *Page 42, 1.11* See *supra* p. 38, 1.6.

* *Page 42, 1.23* *Nafaḥāt*, p. 505.

* *Page 43, 1.7* *S.A.*, p. 142.

* *Page 43, 1.12* *S.A.*, pp. 142-43

* *Page 43, 1.12* He was a grandson of Qāḍī Quṭb al-Dīn Kāshānī, and his name was a byword for erudition, tolerance, piety and fear of God. Whenever he would call on Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, the Shaykh would stand erect to receive him, a privilege which hardly any other of his followers could think of. Rather, some of his disciples who ordinarily would never dare sit in his presence, were always looking forward to the arrival of the Qāḍī when discussions on different topics were held and everybody could sit and relish the audience of the great Shaykh. The Qāḍī passed away during the lifetime of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn.[131]

Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd was one of the old students of the Qāḍī and had studied Bazdawī under him.[132]

* *Page 43, 1.16* *S.A.*, p. 143.

* *Page 43, 1.22* *A.A.*, pp. 56-57; *S.A.*, p. 134.

129. M.S. Akhtar, *Taḥqīq dar Mathnawīha-yi Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, unpublished thesis for the Degree of D. Litt. submitted at the University of Tehran, 1974, pp. 25-31, 156-61.

130. *Dīwān-i Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, ed. Mudarris-i Raḍawī (Tehran, n.d.); *Dīwān-i Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, ed. Muẓāhir-i Muṣaffā (Tehran, 1336 H.Sh.); *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqa wa Sharī'at al-Ṭarīqa*, ed. Mudarris-i Raḍawī (Tehran, 1329 H.Sh.); *Mathnawīhā-i Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Mudarris-i Raḍawī (Tehran, 1348 H.Sh.); *Makātīb-i Sanā'ī*, ed. Nazīr Aḥmad (Aligarh, 1962).

131. *S.A.*, pp. 294-96. Also see *A.A.*, pp. 96-97.

132. *K.M.*, pp. 150-51.

* *Page 44, 1.14* *S.A.*, p. 124.
* *Page 44, 1.24* *A.A.*, pp. 55, 58.
* *Page 44, 1.16* *S.A.*, p. 128.
* *Page 44, 1.24* *S.A.*, p. 153.
* *Page 45, 1.9* For a description of his tomb and *Jamā'at Khāna*, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 146, No. 197; p. 151, No. 200.
* *Page 45, 1.10* *S.A.*, pp. 167-69.
* *Page 45, 1.17* *F.F.*, pp. 16-17.
* *Page 45, 1.20* *S.A.*, p. 167.
* *Page 46, 1.4* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 196, No. 341.
* *Page 46, 1.7* *F.F.*, p. 184.
* *Page 46, 1.10* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 196, No. 341.
* *Page 47, 1.4* *F.F.*, p. 132; *S.A.*, p. 168.
* *Page 47, 1.10* *S.A.*, pp. 167-68.
* *Page 48, 1.2* *A.A.*, p. 66.
* *Page 48, 1.7* *Rashaḥāt*, p. 24.
* *Page 48, 1.9* Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband was one of the leading lights of the *Silsila-i Khwājigān*, which subsequently under the influence of his personality came to be known as *Silsila-i Naqshbandiyya*. He traversed the early stages of the mystic path under the guidance of Sayyid Amīr Kalāl,[133] but claimed to have obtained actual enlightenment from the spirit of Khwāja 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghajduwānī.[134] He was born in Muḥarram 718/February-March 1319 in the outskirts of Bukhara and died in the same place on 3 Rabī'I, 791/2 March 1389.[135] Besides a large number of disciples that survived him, he left behind two distinguished *Khalīfas* also, Khwāja 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā.[136].

133. For his life, see *Nafahat*, p. 382; *Rashahat*, pp. 42-43.
134. For his life, see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 377-80; *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 18-27.
135. *Rashaḥāt*, p. 57. For his life, see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 384-89; *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 53-57.
136. *Rashaḥāt*, p. 57.

During his lifetime also Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn used to refer his disciples to the care of Khwāja 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Attar but after Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn's death all of them including Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 24 Jumādā II, 822/20 June 1418)[137] voluntarily came under the shelter of Khwāja 'Aṭṭār's beatitude.[138] The celebrated scholar Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī had also immensely profited from his spiritual beneficence and always used to say that he owed his knowledge of God to Khwāja 'Aṭṭār.[139] The Khwāja died on 20 Rajab 820/14 September 1416, and was buried in Ṣaghāniyān.[140] Among his disciples, Maulānā Niẓām al-Dīn Khāmūsh was the most outstanding, who even before joining his company was possessed of certain miraculous powers and had also seen Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband during his student days.[141] Maulānā Khāmūsh died in 860/1455-56,[142] and was succeeded by two extremely brilliant personalities, Maulānā Sa'd al-Dīn Kāshgharī[143] and Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh,[144] also known as Khwāja-i Aḥrār. For the further augmentation of his spiritual perception and mystical insight, Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh also remained in association with two other luminaries of his time – Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn 'Umar Khurāsānī[145] and Maulānā Ya'qūb Charkhī[146] – and obtained blessings from them. In later years, his active role in the political events of the day and close relations with the contemporary social and political circles gave a new momentum to the Naqshbandiyya order and the masses who generally followed the elite were naturally influenced by Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn. The Khwāja died in 895/1491.

* *Page 48, 1.19* See *supra* p. 10, l.3.

* *Page 48, 1.20* See *supra* p.27, l.22.

* *Page 49, 1.13* Born in Nurd, the old part of the city of Kazirun, lying fifty-five miles (20 *farsakhs*) west of Shiraz, Abū Isḥaq Ibrāhīm Shahryār Kāzirūnī travelled to Shiraz, Basra, Makkah and Madinah and benefited from the company of several scholars in those cities. In Makkah he met Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī bin 'Abd Allāh bin Jahdam Hamadānī and later on transmitted the *Aḥādīth* learnt from him.[147] In the domain of mysticism, initially he was a devotee of

137. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63. For his life, see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 392-96; *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 57-63.
138. *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 389; *Rashaḥāt*, p. 80. For details of his life, see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 389-92; *Rashaḥat*, pp. 79-90.
139. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 389; *Rashaḥāt*, p. 106. For his life, see *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 106-108.
140. *Rashaḥāt*, p. 89.
141. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 400; *Rashaḥāt*, p. 108. For his life, see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 400-402. *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 108-17; *Tarā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq*, Vol. III, p. 62.
142. *Tarā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq*, p. 60.
143. For his life, see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 403-405; *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 117-33.
144. For his life, see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 406-13; *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 207-321.
145. *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 239-41; For his life, see *Ṭarā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq*, pp. 65-66.
146. *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 241-42. For his life, see *Ṭarā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq*, pp. 65-68.
147. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 254.

Shaykh Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad al-Fīrūzābādī al-Akkār but finally became a disciple of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Khafīf (d. 371/982).[148] During those days the city of Kazirun had a *guebre* governor and was overwhelmingly populated by Jews and Zoroastrians. Through his didactic logic and spiritual influence the Shaykh is said to have proselytized a great many of them to Islam. He was quite celebrated for his miracles and clairvoyance; and this fame of his persisted even after his death, so much so that his tomb was also reverently referred to as *Tiryāk-i Akbar* ('Great Antidote'). The Shaykh died in 426/1034, at the age of 72, or according to some, 73.[149] The first of his followers who is reported to have arrived and settled in India, on the Shaykh's instance was his sister's son, and *Khalīfa*, Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Kāzirūnī, the founder of the township of Uch, near Multan. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir *Thānī* bin Makhdūm Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Jīlānī, one of the pioneer saints of the Qādiriyya order in India, traced his lineage on the maternal side from the same Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Kāzirūnī.[150]

The mystique of mysterious deeds and miraculous powers of Shaykh Isḥāq gradually so enshrouded his memory that around his tomb arose a convent which by the close of the 7th/13th century, thanks to the abiding interest and enormous influence of Shaykh 'Umar bin Abī al-Faraj al-Kāzirūnī (d. 703-704/1304), became the axis and pivot of a distinct mystical order known as Kāzirūniyya or Isḥāqiyya, whose sphere of influence and credulity extended as far as India and China.[151] Referring to the high esteem wherein the Shaykh was held in those countries the Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭṭuṭa writes:

> Travellers on the Sea of China make a practice when the wind turns against them and they fear pirates, of making vows to Abu Ishaq, and each one of them sets down in writing the obligation he has undertaken in his vow. Then, when they come safely to land, the servitor of the hospice goes on board the ship, take the inventory, and exact [the amount of] his vow from each person who has pledged himself. There is not a ship that comes from China or from India but has thousands of dinars in it [vowed to the saint], and the agents on behalf of the intendant of the hospice come to take delivery of that sum. There are some poor brethren who come to beg alms of the shaikh; each of these receives a written order for some amount, sealed with the shaikh's device (this is engraved on a silver die, and they put the die into red wax and apply it to the order so that the mark of the stamp remains upon it), to this effect: 'Whoso has in his possession [money dedicated under] a vow to the Shaikh Abu Ishaq, let him give thereof to so-and-so so much', the order being for a thousand or a hundred [dirhams], or some intermediate or smaller sum, according to the standing of the poor brother concerned. Then, when the mendicant finds someone, who has in his possession anything under vow, he takes from him and writes for him a receipt for the amount on the back of the order. The king of India once vowed ten thousand dinars to the Shaikh Abu Ishaq, and when the news of this reached the poor brethren of the hospice, one of them came to India, took delivery of the

148. For his life, see 'Aṭṭār, pp. 571-78.
149. *Ibid.*, pp. 763-76.
150. *A.A.*, p. 199.
151. J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford 1971), pp. 34, 172, 236.

money, and went back with it to the hospice.[152]

* *Page 49, 1.12* *G.A.*, f. 45*b*.
* *Page 49, 1.23* *A.A.*, p. 71.
* *Page 50, 1.1* *S.A.*, p. 144.
* *Page 50, 1.20* For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 94. No. 147.
* *Page 50, 1.24* *S.A.*, p. 500; *A.A.*, p. 72.
* *Page 51, 1.7* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 159, No. 276.
* *Page 51, 1.20* *S.A.*, p. 151. Also see *ibid.*, p. 156.
* *Page 54, 1.8* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 109, No. 138.
* *Page 54, 1.9* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 108, No. 137.
* *Page 53, 1.16* Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī was a favourite *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn and it was partly out of love for him that Shaykh Farīd lived in Hansi for twelve years. He was an eloquent preacher and exquisite poet; his composition being full of divine love. For every *Khalīfa* who got his *Khilāfat-nāma* from Shaykh Farīd, it was a prerequisite to get it endorsed by Shaykh Jamāl before it could become a valid document. If he refused approval to somebody's investiture even the Shaykh would not intervene and accepted his decision willingly. When Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' received his *Khilāfat-nāma*, though himself a cherished disciple, he was also directed to get it endorsed by Shaykh Jamāl Hānsawī.

  Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī died during the lifetime of his preceptor. On his death Shaykh Farīd elevated his son, Burhān al-Dīn Ṣūfī, to the *Khilāfat* and, since he was still a child, directed him to spend some time under the supervision of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, which he did quite conscientiously. Burhān al-Dīn Ṣūfī's son, Quṭb al-Dīn Munawwar, was a prominent *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn.

* *Page 53, 1.19* *S.A.*, p. 178.

152. H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge 1971), Vol. II, pp. 320-21. For a detailed account of the Shaykh's life, see Maḥmūd bin 'Uthmān, *Firdaus al-Murshidiyya fī Asrār al-Samadiyya*, ed. Iraj Afshar (Tehran 1333 H.Sh.) and F. Meier, *Firdous al-Murshidiyya: Die vita des Scheichs Abu Ishaq al-Kazeruni* (Leipzig 1948). (Bibliotheca Islamica).
153. *S.A.*, pp. 178-84.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 247; *A.A.*, p. 87.

* *Page 53, 1.22* *S.A.*, p. 181.

* *Page 54, 1.12* *A.A.*, pp. 73-74; *G.A.*, f. 36*b*.

* *Page 54, 1.12* Sulṭān al-Tārikīn Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī al-Nāgaurī was born in Delhi c. 590/1193. After the acquisition of a traditional education under Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Ḥalwā'ī and Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Muḥammad Juwaynī, he went to Ajmer and became a disciple of Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn and ultimately emerged as one of his main *Khalīfas*.[155] His life was characterized by supreme abstinence, total renunciation of the world and complete resignation to the will of God. He was strictly vegetarian and forbade his descendants from using any sort of flesh in the victuals to be distributed during his obsequies or subsequent death anniversaries.[156] He died in Nagaur on 29 Jumādā II 673/30 December 1274,[157] and was succeeded by his grandson Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ṣūfī Nāgaurī.

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn's father 'Azīz al-Dīn Sa'īd, had already passed away sometime between 22 Rajab 666/7 April 1268 and 22 Rajab 672/1 February 1272, under the spell of an ecstasy which overpowered him in an audition gathering wherein an ode of his father was being chanted. He was survived by three sons: Shaykh Waḥīd al-Dīn Aḥmad, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn.[158] Shaykh Waḥīd al-Dīn took the place of his father, after his death.

Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ṣūfī completed his entire education under the constant vigil of his grandfather who was grooming him to become his successor. True to his grandfather's expectations, he became a prodigious scholar and an accomplished *Ṣūfī* master. According to his own statement, made in Ṣafar 729/ December 1328, he ascended the pulpit for the first time at the age of seven, and continued to do so for the next seventy years.[159] Besides, he wrote glosses on a great many scholarly works,[160] which covered the whole spectrum of Islamic learning, ranging from theology, jurisprudence, exegesis, *Ḥadīth*, and mysticism. His company was equally treasured by saints and Sulṭāns. During one of his short visits to Delhi, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, for whom he had great regard, pleaded with him to stay in his own convent and would take him with himself wherever he was invited.[161] Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq bestowed on him a village in Nagaur[162] and besought him to accept the hand of his daughter for his grandson, which was ultimately accepted and she was married to Shaykh

155. *Surūr al-Ṣudūr*, Introduction, p. 11.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
157. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 301, also see Introduction, pp. 14-15.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 270 also see Introduction, p. 16.
160. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 141, 143, 146, 149, 150, 159.
161. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 129, also see Introduction, pp. 22-23.

Fatḥ al-Dīn bin Shaykh Auḥad al-Dīn.[163] The Shaykh died in Rabī' I 734/ October-November 1333 and was buried in Delhi. Although the word *son* is used very indiscriminately in his correspondence, the following six are, beyond doubt, his sons: Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn, Shaykh Auḥad al-Dīn, Shaykh Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad, Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn and Shaykh 'Azīz al-Dīn Yaḥyā.[164]

* *Page 54, 1.18* See *supra* Page 54, 1.12.

* *Page 55, 1.17* *A.A.*, pp. 80-86. Also see *S.A.*, p. 237.

* *Page 55, 1.23* *S.A.*, pp. 238-41.

* *Page 57, 1.8* *G.A.*,f. 68*b*

* *Page 57, 1.17* *A.A.*, p. 82.

* *Page 58, 1.2* For his tomb,see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 131, No. 221.

* *Page 58, 1.24* For his tomb and *Madrasa*, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III. pp. 178-79, Nos. 308-09.

* *Page 59, 1.20* *K.M.*, pp. 57-58; *A.A.*, p. 82.

* *Page 60, 1.1* *K.M.*, p. 60; *A.A.*, p. 84.

* *Page 60, 1.3* *K.M.*, pp. 65-66; *A.A.*, p. 84.

* *Page 60, 1.12* *A.A.*, p. 84.

* *Page 60, 1.17* *K.M.*, p. 195; *A.A.*, p. 85.

* *Page 60, 1.18* *Kanz*, Vol. I, p. 203.

Page 60, 1.22 *K.M.*, p. 59.

* *Page 61, 1.2* *A.A.*, p. 82.

* *Page 61, 1.19* *A.A.*, p. 81.

* *Page 62, 1.10* *F.A.*, f.38*b*.

163. *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 172.
164. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 28-29.

* *Page 62, 1.11* Shaykh Nūr Turk who is said to have been a disciple of Khwājā 'Uthmān Harunī, or according to some that of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Ajmērī, was originally a native of Turkistan, whence he wended his way to India and settled in the township of Narnaul. His life was characterized by abstinence, celibacy and resignation to the will of God. He took little interest in the enrolment of disciples. During his days Narnaul was overwhelmingly populated by Hindus. Once while the Muslims were preparing for 'Īd prayer in a local mosque, a violent mob of Hindus broke into it and killed many of them. The Shaykh laid down his life in that tragic incident. His body was interred in the thatched hut where he used to live during his lifetime.[165]

* *Page 62, 1.20* *S.A.*, p. 298.

* *Page 63, 1.2* *S.A.*, pp. 298-99.

* *Page 63, 1.8* *A.A.*, p. 92.

* *Page 63, 1.15* *K.M.*, p. 88.

* *Page 63, 1.15* *S.A.*, p. 299.

* *Page 64, 1.2* *S.A.*, pp. 545-55; *A.A.*, pp. 92-93.

* *Page 64, 1.12* For his tomb, see *L.M.& H.M.*, Vol. IV, p. 2., No. 2.

* *Page 64, 1.15* *S.A.*, p. 275. Maulānā 'Alā' al-Dīn Nīlī was such an excellent orator that even the most distinguished of scholars could not resist the temptation of listening to his speech. He and Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā would go together to the seminary of Maulana Farīd al-Dīn Shāfi'ī, the *Shaykh al-Islām* of Awadh, where Maulānā 'Alā' al-Dīn would read the *Kashshāf*[166] in a loud voice and other scholars including Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā would listen to him. He was considered to be an authority on *Kashshāf* and *Miftāḥ*, and whenever the senior disciples of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' were confronted with some problem pertaining to theology or mysticism, they would discuss it in the presence of Maulānā Nīlī and seek his advice. His devotion to Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn was so overwhelming that all his other qualities were overshadowed by it.[167]

* *Page 64, 1.20* *A.A.*, p. 93. Also see *S.A.*, p. 276.

165. *A.A.*, pp. 46-47; *G.A.*, f. 39; *Ma'ārij al-Wilāyat*, ff. 66b-67; *Mira'at al-Asrār*, ff. 254b-255.
166. Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī was not favourably inclined towards this book. See *F.F.*, pp. 122-23.
167. *S.A.*, pp. 275-78.

* *Page 65, 1.16* *S.A.*, p. 278.

* *Page 65, 1.19* *F.F.*, pp. 101-102; *S.A.*, p. 204; *A.A.*, p. 96; *G.A.*, f. 65.

* *Page 66, 1.2* *S.A.*, p. 204.

* *Page 66, 1.8* *S.A.*, p. 204.

* *Page 66, 1.12* Elder brother of Khwāja Taqī al-Dīn Nūḥ, Rafī' al-Dīn Hārūn was the son of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn's real nephew (*pisar-i khwāhar-zāda-i ḥaqīqī*) but the Shaykh would always treat him like his own son. He remembered the Qur'ān by heart. At mealtime, if incidentally he were absent, even with the presence of his senior disciples, the Shaykh would wait for him before partaking of any victuals, and even in the distribution of gifts preference was given to him. Travelling, archery and wrestling were his ruling passions and the Shaykh would not only evince deep interest in these of his activities but also, sometimes, give him the benefit of his advice.[168]

* *Page 66, 1.12* *S.A.*, p. 203.

* *Page 66, 1.19* *S.A.*, pp. 208-10.

* *Page 67, 1.5* *S.A.*, p. 209.

* *Page 67, 1.14* *S.A.*, p. 209.

* *Page 67, 1.25* *S.A.*, p. 200

* *Page 68, 1.3* *S.A.*, pp. 294-96.

* *Page 68, 1.21* Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Khāmūsh bin Sayyid Muḥammad was one of the uncles of Amīr Khurd who extols his scholarly disposition and generosity in the way of God, in very glorious terms. According to him, he was a favourite disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, and the latter used to teach him the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, in private. He had studied the *Majma' al-Baḥrayn* and the *Hidāya* under Qāḍī Muḥyī al-Dīn Kāshānī. The visitors who used to come to see Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn from the city, or Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Maulana 'Alā' al-Dīn Nīlī, who would call on him from Awadh, would stay over-night at Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Khāmūsh's house, who entertained them heartily and took every care to make them feel at home. He employed an army of musicians who were always ready to serve his distinguished guests. The circle of his acquaintance was very wide and his house was always thronged with people from all walks of life. Besides the members of his own family, his near relatives and

168. *S.A.*, p. 203.

dear friends, two hundred dervishes would every day partake of their meals at his place. He died in Deogir in 732/1331-32 and was buried there under the *Maqam-i* Khwāja Khiḍr, where people visited his tomb, at least up till the time of the compilation of the *Sayr al-Auliyā'*, for the fulfilment of their desires.[170]

* *Page 68, 1.24* *S.A.*, pp. 219-20; *G.A.*, f.66*b*.

* *Page 69, 1.7* Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Amīr Aḥmad bin Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī was one of the uncles of Amīr Khurd, the author of the *Sayr al-Auliyā'*, whose statement about him tends to suggest that he was a grandee of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq's court and held a high position in his army. Nevertheless, he had a strong inclination towards mysticism and would not hesitate in pronouncing the truth even in the most difficult of circumstances. During his tenure as a khān in the army deployed in Talang (Telengana), as a result of some intrigues of his rivals, he was jailed in Baksi, near Deogir. While in imprisonment, he wrought some miracles which not only brought about his release but also restored his estimation in the eyes of the Sulṭān. At this time he used to braid his hair in one plait and wear a gown. But on receipt of the imperial summons, he braided his hair in two plaits and dressed himself in a *Ṣūfī* robe, implying thereby that he had renounced the world and had taken to a spiritual life. The Sulṭān did not accept this excuse of his, and offered him an advisory position at court where he continued to wear his *Ṣūfī* dress. It was during his posting in Lahore with the imperial armies that he fell ill and died in Jumādā II 728/April-May 1328. His body was carried to Delhi and buried there in the vicinity of his father's grave. He was survived by two sons: 'Imād al-Dīn Amīr Ṣāliḥ and Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn.[171]

* *Page 69, 1.10* *S.A.*, pp. 214-15.

* *Page 69, 1.16* *S.A.*, p. 199.

* *Page 70, 1.2* *S.A.*, p. 90.

* *Page 70, 1.12* *G.A.*, f. 28.

* *Page 70, 1.14* *S.A.*, pp. 190-91.

* *Page 70, 1.14* Khwāja Ya'qūb was the youngest son of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, and a bosom friend of Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī's son, Sayyid Mubārak. Both of them learnt the Qur'ān from Maulānā Badr al-Dīn Isḥāq[172] and spent most of their time in each other's company. Thus they were together at the time

169. Like Qāḍī Muḥyī al-Dīn Kāshānī, Maulānā Ḥujjat al-Dīn Multānī, Maulānā Badr al-Dīn Yār, Maulānā Sharaf al-Dīn Yār, Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā, and Maulānā Ḥusām al-Dīn.
170. *S.A.*, pp. 219-20.
171. *S.A.*, pp. 214-16.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

of the occurrence of the incidents mentioned in the text.[173] Since Maulānā Badr al-Dīn Isḥāq started teaching the Qur'ān at the Jum'a mosque at Ajodhan[174] sometime after the death of his spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Farīd, in Muḥarram 664/October-November 1265, it is fair to conclude that the abduction of Khwāja Ya'qūb must have taken place after that date.

* *Page 71, l.2* S.A., (p. 197): 'Azīz al-Dīn.

* *Page 71, l.3* Khwāja Niẓām al-Dīn took a deep interest in the upbringing and education of both these brothers. Consequently, Khwāja Muḥammad became his permanent *Imām* and was generally referred to as Khwāja Muḥammad Imām. In spiritual gatherings it was his privilege to sit nearest to the Shaykh. Similarly, during audition if the Shaykh ever felt the impulse to dance, it was he who would keep him company. Amīr Khurd, who happened to see him several times, found his eyes always filled with tears. In his absence, the congregational prayer was led by his brother Khwāja Mūsa, who would chant the Qur'ān in a very sweet, melodious and heart-stirring voice. He had studied the Bazdawi under Maulānā Wajīh al-Dīn Pā'ilī, and was well versed in different sciences including the science of medicine. He composed verses both in Arabic and Persian and, like his brother, was a perfect connoisseur of music.[175]

* *Page 71, l.4* *G.A.*, f. 28; *S.A.*, pp. 172-73, 192, 193.

* *Page 71, l.5* See *supra* page 11, l. 15.

* *Page 71, l.10* *A.A.*, p. 95.

* *Page 71, l.13* *S.A.*, p. 201.

* *Page 71, l.16* *S.A.*, (p. 201), *A.A.*, (p. 95): Niẓām al-Dīn Pānīpatī.

* *Page 71, l.22* Once, while the victuals were being served in the hospice of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, Maulānā Wajīh al-Dīn, a senior disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, came in and inadvertently seated himself on the upper hand of Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn. Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, who was watching the whole incident, sounded a note of warning and said: 'Maulānā! No doubt, I do not warrant sitting of any *Muja"ad* on the upper hand of a *Muta'amman* but this also I cannot approve of that some *Muta'amman* should sit on the upper hand of the descendants of my master'. Maulānā Wajīh al-Dīn, who was misled by the curled hair

173. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.
174. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
175. *S.A.*, pp. 200-202.

of Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn and had failed to recognize that he was a grandson of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar, immediately got up, repented his inadvertence and apologized to the Shaykh.[176]

Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn's younger brother, Khwāja Kabīr al-Dīn was also a devout follower of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn and spent his entire life, right from his childhood to the time of his death, at the feet of the great saint. He also died in Delhi and was buried in the Chabūtara-i Yārān graveyard.[177]

* *Page 71, l.23* *S.A.*, p. 202; *A.A.*, p. 85.

* *Page 72, l.1* According to the *Sayr al-Auliyā'*, this book was a collection of the utterances of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn and a considerable portion of it had been browsed by the Shaykh also.[178] Stray references to this work are seen here and there but the book itself has vanished.

Page 72, l.2 *S.A.*, p. 449.

Page 72, l.7 *G.A.*, f. 28*b*.

Page 72, l.7 Mīr Khurd, who was his contemporary, admires him for his abstinence, piety, fear of God, modesty and munificence, and extols his efforts to relieve the people of their worries and assuage their hearts by guiding them on the divine path.[179]

* *Page 72, l.11* *G.A.*, f. 49.

* *Page 72, l.18* *G.A.*, f. 50.

* *Page 72, l.23* His father Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn was a minister to a ruler of Khurasan but, as a result of some mishap, he had had to migrate to India, where he was entrusted with the administration of the area extending from Hansi to Multan, including Dipalpur and Ajodhan. Alive as he was, Khwāja Kamāl joined the band of Shaykh Farīd's disciples. Later on, considering that Khwāja Karīm al-Dīn Samarqandī was his own disciple and his father Khwāja Kamāl had been a disciple of the great Shaykh, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn arranged the marriage of Khwāja Karīm with one of the granddaughters of Shaykh Farīd.

Khwāja Karīm was known for his mystical leanings but besides that, he was also possessed of all the virtues a scion of his lineage could be expected to have

176. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
177. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
179. *S.A.*, p. 203.

had. He led a very honourable life in Ghiyaspur surrounded by a galaxy of topmost poets and scholars, including Khusrau, Ḥasan and Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī. After Shykh Niẓām al-Dīn died, Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq bestowed on Khwāja Karīm the titles of the *Shaykh al-Islām* and the *Anwar-Rā'ē-i Mulk-i Sātgāōn*, which he accepted and shifted to Satgaon. He died in Satgaon and was buried there. According to Mīr Khurd his tomb was an object of veneration for the townsfolk.[180]

* *Page 72, l.24* *G.A.*, f. 50; *S.A.*, pp. 306-08.

* *Page 73, l.9* He was one of the seniormost disciples of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn. In *Fiqh* he had been a student of Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Qūshcheh and in view of his erudition and learning his name was quite familiar in academic circles. To eke out his livelihood, he taught the children of a courtier of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban. But ultimately he severed all links with mundane objects and came into the fold of Niẓām al-Dīn's disciples. His inquisitiveness, however, did not depart from him and he was always in the forefront to put questions to the Shaykh concerning different theological and mystical points. He passed away during the lifetime of his preceptor who, prior to his death, granted him permission to accept disciples in his own right.[181]

* *Page 73, l.10* *G.A.*, f. 51; *S.A.*, pp. 299-301.

* *Page 73, l.10* See *supra Page 26, l.13.*

* *Page 73, l.17* *S.A.*, p. 294.

* *Page 73, l.21* He was a tutor to Khwāja Nūḥ but he always nursed the idea of becoming an *Imām*. This position was the sole privilege of Khwāja Muḥammad *Imām* and in his absence, this function was automatically assumed by his younger brother, Khwāja Mūsa. Once, when both these brothers were away at Ajodhan, Sayyid Muḥammad Khādim, knowing the strong desire of Shihāb al-Dīn, recommended him to Iqbāl Khādim, who elicited for him the permission of the Shaykh to lead the prayers. Initially it was a temporary arrangement but subsequently he became a permanent *Imām*. He was never formally declared a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn but still he enrolled disciples. This, according to Mīr Khurd, implied that he must have had the tacit approval of the Shaykh in this regard, otherwise a man of his calibre and rectitude would not have embarked on such an ambitious course.[182]

* *Page 73, l.22* *G.A.*, f. 52b; *S.A.*, p. 290.

180. *S.A.*, pp. 306-308.
181. *S.A.*, pp. 299-301.
182. *S.A.*, pp. 290-93.

* *Page 74, 1.11* Ethé records his name as Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Nakhshabī Shīrkhān, but generally he is known as Mas'ūd-i Bak. Bak is the name of a dependency of Bukhara from which he traced his origin.[183]

* *Page 74, 1.20* *Kanz*, Vol. XIII, pp. 18, 20, 24.

* *Page 75, 1.1* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 149, No. 262.

* *Page 75, 1.4* *G.A.*, f. 60; *S.A.*, p. 314.

* *Page 75, 1.12* *G.A.*, f. 65.

* *Page 75, 1.12* *G.A.*, 9f. 65.

* *Page 75, 1.16* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 120, No. 206.

* *Page 75, 1.17* S.A., (pp. 20-05) reads: Shaykh Abū Bakr Muṣallā-dār.

* *Page 75, 1.17* A near relative of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, he dedicated himself to the service of that great saint, one of his duties being to carry the Shaykh's prayer carpet to the Jum'a mosque of Kilukhari, after morning prayers on every Friday. Despite the toils and exertions he had to undergo in the service of the Shaykh and the looking after of the *Jamā'at Khāna*, he would not let his schedule of ascetic exercises suffer at all, and he would fast for many consecutive days. At the same time, he was very fond of audition. In these gatherings he was so overpowered by ecstasy that he would give away every piece of his raiment to the musicians. In such situations, a loose apron was tied around his shoulders but even then he would continue dancing. Sometimes, he would utter such loud cries as would pierce through every heart and move everybody. After Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn's death, some of his followers accepted lands and stipends, but Shaykh Abū Bakr Muṣallā-dār, despite bitter poverty, did not succumb to any such temptation.[184]

* *Page 75, 1.18* *G.A.*, f. 65*b*.

* *Page 75, 1.22* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 45, No. 7.

* *Page 76, 1.6* He was a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn and compiled a collection of his utterances styled *Majma 'al-Fawā'id*. Once, upon being asked by somebody if Khwāja 'Azīz al-Dīn was his disciple, the Shaykh replied in the affirmative and remarked that he was proud of that son.[185]

183. *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, Vol. I, p. 1023.
184. *S.A.*, pp. 204-205.
185. *S.A.*, p. 207.

* *Page 76, l.7* *G.A.*, f. 66.

* *Page 76, l.13* *A.A.*, pp. 96-97; *S.A.*, pp. 225-26.

* *Page 76, l.19* *S.A.*, pp.223-24.

* *Page 76, l.22* The *Kanz al-Wuṣūl ila Ma'rifat al-Uṣūl* generally called *Uṣūl*, by Fakhr al-Islām Abī al-'Usr 'Alī bin Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Bazdawī (d. 482/1089-90), is the most important work on Ḥanafī jurisprudence.[186] Among its commentaries *Talwīḥ* of Taftāzānī[187] (d. 792/1389-90) occupies an eminent position.

* *Page 76, l.23* According to *G.A.* (f. 66) he was his brother.

* *Page 77, l.3* According to the *Sayr al-Auliyā'*,[188] the description of Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā's encounter with Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn so impressed his teacher, Maulānā Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bhakkarī, that he also became restless to see the Shaykh which he did ultimately and seemingly became a disciple of his.

* *Page-77, l.7* Maulānā Ṣadr al-Dīn was a cousin of Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā. They would usually prepare their lessons together, exchange notes and discuss the various points arising out of their studies in theology, jurisprudence and rhetoric. Even during their student days they were quite famous for their diligence, inquisitive nature and the search after the truth. If there were any ambiguity in the lectures of their teachers, contrary to other students, they would seek its clarification right in the midst of the lecture. Later, Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā not only far excelled his cousin, but also over-shadowed all the other scholars. Ultimately, all the scholars of the town accepted his supremacy and the stock of whoever had studied under him was very high among the contemporaries.[189] Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd[190] and his *Khalīfa* Sayyid Muḥammad bin Ja'far al-Makkī al-Ḥusaynī[191] were two of his outstanding students who subsequently achieved great fame in the realm of mysticism.

* *Page 77, l.10* *S.A.*, p. 225.

* *Page 77, l.21* Sanā'ī-i Ghaznawī, *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqa*, ed. Mudarris-i Raḍawī (Tehran 1329 H. Sh.), p. 420.

186. Safa, Vol. II, pp. 262-63; Ignace Goldziher, *A Short History of Classical Arabic Literature*, ed. and tr. Joseph Desomogyi (Hildesheim-Germany 1966), p. 52.
187. Ignace Goldziher, p. 52.
188. p. 224.
189. *S.A.*, p. 226.
190. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
191. *S.A.*, p. 136.

* *Page 77, 1.22* See 'Aṭṭār, p. 299.

* *Page 77, 1.22* Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥātim bin 'Unwān[192] bin Yūsuf al-Aṣamm[193] was one of the great men of Balkh (*az muḥtashimān-i Balkh būd*) and one of the senior saints of Khurasan. He was a disciple of Shaqīq bin Ibrāhīm, and the teacher of Aḥmad bin Khadrawayh.[194] In all his circumstances, from beginning to end, he never acted untruthfully, so that Junayd said: 'Ḥātim al-Aṣamm is the veracious one (*ṣiddīq*) of our time'. He was the author of lofty sayings dealing with the different aspects of the human soul.[195] He died in 237/852, at Washajard near Tirmidh, in Transoxiana.[196]

* *Page 78, 1.2* See Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahār Maqāla*, ed. Muhammad Mu'īn (Tehran 1333 H.Sh.), p. 41. Ṣaghānī does not accept it as a genuine *Ḥadīth* See Bahā'-i Walad, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān-i Furūzānfar (Tehran 1352 H.Sh., repr.), Vol. II, p. 261.

* *Page 78, 1.9* Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Munawwar bin Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Ṣūfī bin Shaykh Jamāl Hānsawī was a prominent disciple and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' of Delhi. He received the *Khilāfat* the same day as did Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd. First he was called into the presence of the Shaykh, who offered him the robe of *Khilāfat* with concomitant instructions. After the document of *Khilāfat* was also handed over to him he was dismissed to say two *rak'a* of thanksgiving prayers. In the meantime, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd was summoned and presented with a similar robe and instructions by the Shaykh. After he had also received his document of *Khilāfat* in the Shaykh's presence, Quṭb al-Dīn Munawwar was again called in and directed to congratulate Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn on his elevation to the position of a *Khalīfa*. After Naṣīr al-Dīn had also reciprocated the greetings, the Shaykh bade them embrace each other and to forget which of them got the *Khilāfat* first.

Before seeing him off to Hansi, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn presented to Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn a copy of the *'Awārif* which he had received from the latter's grandfather, Shaykh Jamāl al-Din Hānsawī, at the time of getting his *Khilāfat-nāma* endorsed by him. Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn had in turn been given this book by Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar. After Quṭb al-Dīn Munawwar's death, among other things, this book was also inherited by his son, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn.[197]

* *Page 79, 1.2* *Qūt al-Qulūb*, by Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin 'Aṭiyya al-Ḥārithī al-Makkī (d. 386/996) is one of the oldest and most important

192. *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (p. 80) has *'Unwāl.*
193. Sulamī, p. 91.
194. Hujwīrī, p. 142; Nicholson, p. 115.
195. Hujwīrī, p. 142; Nicholson, p. 115.
196. Sulamī, p. 91; *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, p. 80; and *Nafaḥāt*, p. 64.
197. *S.A.*, pp. 245-50.

authorities on Islamic mysticism.[198] Muḥammad Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), as pointed out by Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419) in *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb*,[199] extensively drew upon this work, both in method and material, in the compilation of his *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*. The book was published from Cairo in 1310/1892-93.

* *Page 79, l.9* S.A., pp. 225-27.
* *Page 79, l.17* A.A., p. 97; S.A., pp. 227-28.
* *Page 80, l.3* S.A., pp. 228-29.
* *Page 80, l.8* S.A., p. 296.
* *Page 80, l.16* S.A., pp. 297-98.
* *Page 81, l.2* See *Iḥyā'*, Vol. I, p. 326; *Nafaḥāt*, p. 322.
* *Page 81, l.14* G.A., f. 49b.
* *Page 81, l.19* A.A., pp. 98-100; G.A., f. 52.
* *Page 82, l.22* A.A., p. 98.
* *Page 83, l.5* A.A., p. 99.
* *Page 83, l.7* *Nafahat*, p. 610.
* *Page 83, l.10* *Nafahat*, p. 610.
* *Page 83, l.17* S.A., (p. 34):
* *Page 83, l.18* Ḥakīm Abū Mu'īn Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāṣir bin Khusrau bin Ḥārith al-Qubādiyānī al-Balkhī al-Marwazī (d. 481/1088), the celebrated Persian poet,[200] traveller[201] and Ismā'īlī propagandist.[202]

198. R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge 1966), pp. 338, 393. Also see Ignace Goldziher, p. 54.
199. Bankipore, Vol. XIII, pp. 18-19.
200. His poetical works have been published at Tehran. See *Dīwān-i Ash'ār-i Ḥakīm Abū Mu'īn Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāṣir bin Khusrau Qabādiyānī*, ed. Ḥājjī Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqawi et. al., Tehran, 1348 H.Sh., repr.
201. His *Safar-nāma* is the oldest extant Persian travelogue which gives invaluable information about the social conditions obtaining in the countries of his intinerary. See *Safar-nāma*, edited in the original Persian, with French translation by M.Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1881; and *Safar-nāma-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir Khusrau*, Berlin, 1340 H.Sh., Tehran, n.d., repr.
202. For his life and works see *Dīwān-i Ash'ār*, Introduction, Rypka, pp. 185-89.

* *Page 84, 1.3* S.A., (p. 304): بعد از مخالطت

* *Page 84, 1.25* S.A., pp. 301-303.

* *Page 85, 1.1* S.A.. pp. 304-305.

* *Page 85, 1.1* A.A., p. 100.

* *Page 85, 1.9* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 160, No. 213.

* *Page 86, 1.8* *Diwān-i Kāmil-i Amīr Khusrau*, ed. M. Darwish (Tehran 1343 H.Sh.), p. 145.

* *Page 86, 1.9* He was a nephew of Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī 'Alā',[203] the famous compiler of the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, and not that of Amīr Khusrau, as recorded in the *Akhbār al-Akhyār*[204] and the *Kalimāt al-Ṣādiqīn*.[205] since his tomb was usually referred to as *Qabr-i Khwāharzāda-i Mīr* ('the tomb of the Mīr's nephew), and the title of Mīr was common to both Ḥasan and Khusrau, the authors of the aforementioned works have been misled to infer that he was a nephew of Amīr Khusrau, whereas all their other information about him is sheer reproduction of Amīr Khurd's statement, whose father was a contemporary of Shams al-Dīn.[206]

* *Page 86, 1.10* S.A., (p. 314): نسبت خواهر زادگی بمیر حسن داشت

* *Page 86, 1.17* S.A., p. 315.

* *Page 87, 1.1* S.A., p. 102; *G.A.*, f. 111.

* *Page 87, 1.5* G.A., f. 38*b*.

* *Page 87, 1.12* *Nafaḥāt*, p. 511.

* *Page 88, 1.14* A.A., p. 104.

* *Page 88, 1.15* Ḍiyā'-i Nakhshabī (d. 751/1350-51) is said to have been a disciple of Shaykh Farīd, the grandson and *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī. He lived in complete seclusion in Badayun and spent most of his time in literary pursuits. His works include the *'Ashra-i Mubashshara*, the *Kulliyāt*, the *Juz'iyāt*, and the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*.[207]

203. *S.A.*, p. 314.
204. p. 102.
205. *Text*, p. 86.
206. *S.A.*, p. 314.
207. *A.A.*, p. 104.

* *Page 89, l.2* *A.A.*, p. 127.

* *Page 89, l.8* *A.A.*, p. 108.

* *Page 89, l.16* *Niṣāb al-Iḥtisāb fī al-Fatāwā* based on well known legal authorities, on the functions of the *muḥtasib* (the religious censor); published from Calcutta in 1830.[208]

* *Page 89, l.19* *A.A.*, p. 108; *S.A.*, p. 311.

* *Page 90, l.9* *S.A.*, p. 315; *A.A.*, p. 109; also see *G.A.*, f. 59*b*.

* *Page 90, l.22* See *A.A.*, p. 129.

* *Page 91, l.1* Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Ghazāli[209] Ṭūsī, the younger brother of Imām Abī Ḥāmid Muḥammad bin Muḥammad was an outstanding mystic, preacher and Shāfi'ite jurisconsult of his time. In mysticism he was a disciple of Shaykh Abū Bakr Nassāj (d. 487/1094) and from amongst his own disciples the name of Shaykh Abū al-Najīb Suhrawardi is of particular note. According to Ibn Khallikān[210] (d. 681/1282-83) he was a good preacher, handsome in person and endowed with the gift of miracles and other signs of divine favour. His ruling passion was making public exhortations and for this he neglected the law of which he was a doctor. So much so that, according to a later authority,[211] it was his preaching which served as a last straw in inducing his brother Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad to break away from things mundane and turn to the spiritual world. Also, he served as a substitute at Niẓamiyya-i Baghdad during the latter's absence.[212] Of his works the *Sawāniḥ*,[213] aphorisms on love, deeply influenced later writers like 'Ayn al-Quḍāt-i Hamadānī, Sanā'ī, Najm al-Dīn Dāya, 'Irāqī and Jāmī. He died in 520/1126[214] at Qazwin.

* *Page 91, l.2* Abū al-Qāsim bin 'Alī bin 'Abd Allāh al-Gurgānī was the most outstanding pupil of Abū 'Alī Rūdbārī.[215] He was a contemporary of Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Abū al-Khayr and enjoyed very cordial relations with him.[216] 'Alī Hujwīrī, who appears to have been his noviate, considered him the Quṭb

208. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, p. 275.
209. For the pronunciation of the word Ghazālī, see Sam'ānī, ff. 407*b*-408; Slane, Vol. I, p. 80. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, *Ghazzālī-nāma*, rev. edn. (Tehran 1342 H.Sh.), pp. 219-23.
210. Slane, Vol. I, p. 79.
211. *Itḥāf al-Sāda*, Vol. I, p. 8.
212. Slane, Vol. I, p. 79.
213. Ahmad Ghazzali, *Aphorismen Uber Die Liebe*, ed. Hellmut Ritter (Istanbul 1942) (Bibliotheca Islamica XV)
214. Slane, Vol. I, p. 80; Cf. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 375; Rypka, p. 220.
215. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 307.
216. *Maqāmāt-i Abū Sa'īd*, pp. 68-69.

of his age, visited him frequently at Tus, and sought his guidance in matters spiritual.[217] He possessed a marvellous power of revealing the inward experiences of novices and was learned in various branches of knowledge.[218] Although Abū 'Alī al-Fārmadī was the most distinguished among his disciples,[219] his spiritual beneficence appears to have been transmitted through Abū Bakr al-Nassāj also.[220]

* *Page 91, l. 2* *Nafaḥāt*, p. 307.

* *Page 91, l.2* Among others who profited from the association of Junayd, the name of Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin al-Qāsim bin Manṣūr commonly known as Abū 'Alī al-Rūdbārī is particularly of note.[221] It was through him that the Suhrawardī saints traced their spiritual genealogy to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and, through him to 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib, the patriarch of all the saints and mystics of Islam. Besides Junayd he also benefited from the company of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī, Abū Ḥamza, Ḥasan al-Musūḥī and a number of other saints of Baghdad. While in Syria he associated with Ibn al-Jallā.[222] Apart from being a scholar, jurisconsult, and *Muḥaddith*, he was also possessed of the knowledge of divinity.[223] He died in 302/914-15.[224]

* *Page 91, l.3* Ḥasan bin Aḥmad generally called Abū 'Alī al-Kātib was one of the great names of mysticism in Egypt. Besides other saints, he is said to have associated with Abū Bakr al-Miṣrī and Abū 'Alī Rūdbārī.[225] Although he was considered to be more learned and accomplished than Abū 'Alī Rūdbārī, still his attitude towards him was always that of respect and reverence.[226] He died in 340/951-52.[227]

* *Page 91, l.4* Abū al-Ḥasan Sarī bin al Mughallas al-Saqaṭī was the maternal uncle and spiritual preceptor of Junayd. He himself is said to have been a pupil of Ma'rūf Karkhī.[228] He was an eminent *Ṣūfī* and was well versed in various branches of knowledge. He was the first of those who paid attention to the arrangement of mystical stations (*Maqāmāt*) and to the explanation of spiritual states (*Aḥwāl*).[229] Most of the Shaykhs of 'Irāq were his disciples.[230]

217. Hujwīrī, pp. 55, 301, 441.
218. *Ibid.*, p. 301; also see *ibid.*, p. 259.
219. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
220. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 370.
221. Qushayrī, p. 72; Sulamī, p. 354.
222. Sulamī, p. 354.
223. *Ibid.*
224. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
225. Sulamī, p. 386; *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Pt. 1, p. 112.
226. *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 201, 203.
227. Qushayrī, p. 75; Sulamī, p. 386; *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, p. 112.
228. Qushayrī, p. 30; Hujwīrī, p. 137.
229. Hujwīrī, p. 137.
230. Sulamī, p. 48; Hujwīrī, p. 137.

He died in 257/870-71.[231]

* *Page 91, l.3* Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd bin Sallām al-Maghribī was an eminent spiritualist and was well known for his attainments in various departments of knowledge.[232] He spent his time in the company of Abū 'Alī al-Kātib, Ḥabīb al-Maghribī, and Abū 'Umar Zujājī, and met various other saints including Nahrjūrī and Ibn al-Ṣā'igh.[233] He practised various austerities and was the author of many notable sayings and excellent proofs concerning the observation of spiritual blemishes. He died in 373/983-84, at Nishapur.[234]

* *Page 91, l.4* Abū al-Qāsim Junayd bin Muḥammad bin Junayd al-Qawārīrī al-Baghdādī was one of the most prominent early ascetics of Islam and his teachings[235] have had an enormous influence on the succeeding generations of mystics. He was born and bred in Baghdad but his family was from Nihawand,[236] an ancient town in the province of Jibal.[237] In jurisprudence he was a student of Ibn Thaur, a senior disciple of Imām Shāfi'ī.[238] However, some believe that as a jurisconsult he followed the practice of Sufyān al-Thaurī. In the realm of mysticism, he had as his masters Sarī al-Saqaṭī, Ḥārith al-Muhasibī[239] and Muḥammad bin 'Alī al-Qaṣṣāb.[240] He was not only an established authority on theology, jurisprudence and ethics, but also an acknowledged leader of the *Ṣūfīs*.[241] Abū 'Abd Allāh Khafīf considered him to be one of the five great saints, others being Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, Abū Muḥammad bin Ruwaym, Abū al-'Abbās al-'Aṭā' and 'Amar bin 'Uthmān al-Makkī, who were possessed of both Knowledge and Truth.[242] Shaykh Abū Ja'far al-Ḥaddād used to say that if Intellect were a man, she would have been in the shape of Junayd.[243] Junayd attached great importance to the memorization of the Qur'ān and the writing of the *Ḥadīth*, and used to say: Do not emulate him, who has not practised both these things.[244] He died in 297/909, and according to some, in 298/910, and was buried in Baghdad, beside the grave of Sarī Saqaṭī.[245] After his death, Abū

231. Qushayrī, p. 31.
232. Hujwīrī, p. 199.
233. Sulamī, pp. 386, 431, 378, 312.
234. *Ibid.*, p. 479.
235. For his teachings see, Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality, and the Writings of Al-Junayd* (London 1962), pp. 65-116.
236. Sulamī, p. 155; Qushayrī, p. 55; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 373; Slane, Vol. I, p. 338; ~~*Nafaḥāt*, p. 80.~~
237. Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, p. 1.
238. Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, 'Abd al-Hayy Habībī (Kabul 1341 H.Sh.), p. 161; *Nafaḥāt*, p. 80.
239. Ibn Khallikān, p. 373; Slane, p. 338.
240. Qushayrī, p. 51; Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, p. 161 *Nafaḥāt*, p. 80.
241. Hujwīrī, p. 161; Nicholson, p. 128.
242. Qushayrī, p. 34.
243. Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, p. 162; *Nafaḥāt*, p. 80.
244. Qushayrī, p. 52.
245. Ibn Khallikān, p. 374; Slane, p. 339. also see Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, p. 2.

Muḥammad Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn al-Jurayrī, the most prominent of his disciples, was installed as his successor. Al-Jurayrī died in 311/923-24.[246]

* *Page 91, l.4* Abū Maḥfūz Ma'rūf bin Fīrūz or Fīrūzān[247] al-Karkhī was one of the ancient and principal saints of Islam. He was born of Christian parents[248] but subsequently became a Muslim at the hand of Imām Mūsā al-Riḍā.[249] For his mystical training he served as a noviate under the care of Dā'ūd al-Ṭā'ī[250] and practised ascetic austerities for a long time before he became a renowned saint. His life was characterized by complete detachment from the world (*Tajrīd*) and his sayings were prized highly by his contemporaries. He died in 200/815 and was buried in Baghdad.

* *Page 91, l.6* Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd bin Nuṣayr al-Ṭā'ī al-Kūfī was a pupil of Abū Ḥanīfa and a contemporary of Fuḍayl bin 'Iyāḍ, Ibrāhīm Adham[251] and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.[252] In mysticism he was a disciple of Ḥabīb Rā'ī.[253] Before retreating into seclusion, he had mastered various branches of knowledge and particularly in jurisprudence had excelled all the doctors of his time. It was at this stage that Abū Ḥanīfa drew his attention to the need of putting that knowledge into practice.[254] To start with his austerities, he sat in the company of Abū Ḥanīfa for one year listening to the debates of scholars and not uttering even a single word.[255] The results of this restraint were so enormous that he is reported to have remarked later that that one year of complete silence did the work of thirty years in his subsequent spiritual career.[256] He died between 160/777 and 165/782-83.[257]

* *Page 91, l.6* Ḥabīb bin Muḥammad al-'Ajamī al-Baṣrī was a noted traditionist who transmitted from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Sīrīn, and other authorities.[258] He was a contemporary of Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal and Shāfi'ī and was held in high

246. Qushayrī, p. 64.
247. Sulamī, pp. 83-84.
249. Qushayrī, p. 29.
249. *Ibid;* 'Aṭṭār, p. 324. The story of his conversion to Islam by the Shī'ite Imām 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā is generally discredited. See *Muslim Saints and Mystics,* tr., A.J. Arberry (London 1966), p. 161.
250. Qushayrī, p. 508.
251. Hujwīrī, pp. 113, 136; Nicholson, pp. 93, 109 'Aṭṭār, p. 263; *Nafaḥāt,* p. 41.
252. He is reported to have said to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: 'O son of the Apostle of God, counsel me, for my mind is darkened'. Ja'far replied: 'O Abu Sulayman thou art the ascetic of thy time: what need hast hou of counsel from me?' See Nicholson, p. 79 Hujwīrī, p. 95.
253. Abū Ḥalīm Ḥabīb bin Salīm al-Rā'ī was a companion of Salmān Fārisī. See Hujwīrī, p. 109; Nicholson, p. 90.
254. Qushayrī, p. 35; Hujwīrī, p. 177; Nicholson, p. 95.
255. Qushayrī, p. 35.
256. 'Aṭṭār, p. 264.
257. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, p. 261; *Muslim Saints and Mystics,* p. 138.

esteem by both of them.[259] At first he was a notorious usurer but later he repented of his sins and became a pupil of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.[260] During daytime he would apply himself to the acquisition of knowledge while his nights were spent in the worship of God in his convent which he had established on the bank of the Euphrates.[261]

* *Page 91, l.11* For his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 128, No. 218.

* *Page 92, l.8* *G.A.*, f. 24*b*.

* *Page 92, l.8* *A.A.*, p. 129.

* *Page 92, l.12* *G.A.*, f. 24.

* *Page 93, l.5* *A.A.*, pp. 143-46.

* *Page 93, l.19* *A.A.*, p. 144.

* *Page 94, l.4* *A.A.*, p. 144.

* *Page 94, l.6* *Iḥyā'*, Vol. III, pp. 27, 35, 79.

* *Page 94, l.6* *Ṣūfī* aphorism. See Hujwīrī, p. 420.

* *Page 94, l. 7* *Kanz*, Vol. VIII, p. 286. Also see Hujwīrī, pp. 42, 413; *'Awarif*, Vol. III, p. 247.

* *Page 94, l.9* *A.A.*, p. 144.

* *Page 94, l.11* Qur'ān, 4: 101.

* *Page 94, l.15* Qur'ān, 11: 7.

* *Page 94, l.17* Qur'ān, 63:9.

* *Page 94, l.18* *A.A.*, p. 145.

* *Page 94, l.19* Qur'ān, 65:4.

* *Page 94, l.19* Qur'ān, 39: 37.

258. *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, p. 32.
259. 'Aṭṭār, p. 64.
260. Hujwīrī, p. 107; Nicholson, p. 88; 'Aṭṭār, pp. 59-60.
261. 'Aṭṭār, p. 60.

* *Page 94, 1.23* *A.A.*, p. 145.
* *Page 94, 1.24* Qur'ān, 33: 29.
* *Page 95, 1.23* *A.A.*, p. 145.
* *Page 95, 1.5* Qur'ān, 25: 4.
* *Page 95, 1.6* *A.A.*, p. 145.
* *Page 95, 1.12* *A.A.*, p. 146.
* *Page 95, 1.15* *G.A.*, f. 31.
* *Page 96, 1.10* Qur'ān, 38: 245.
* *Page 96, 1.22* *A.A.*, p. 147.
* *Page 96, 1.23* The celebrated treatise on logic by Najm al-Dīn 'Alī bin 'Umar Katibī Qazwīnī (d. 675/1276-77). It derives its name from the wazīr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (d. 681/1282-83).[262]
* *Page 96, 1.23* The *Maṭāli' al-Anwār* generally referred to as *Maṭāli'*, by Sirāj al-Dīn Abū al-Thanā' Maḥmūd bin Abī Bakr bin Aḥmad al-Urmawī[263] (d. 683/1283-84), is a well known treatise on logic. 'Allāma Quṭb al-Dīn Buwayhī al-Rāzī's *Lawāmi' al-Asrār fī Sharḥ Maṭāli' al-Anwār,*[264] is one of the several commentaries on this work.
* *Page 96, 1.25* The *Manār al-Anwār fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* by Abū'l Barakāt 'Abd Allāh bin Aḥmad bin Mas'ūd al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310 or 711/1311), is a well known work on jurisprudence. It was printed in Delhi in 1870.[265]
* *Page 96, 1.25* The *Tawjih al-Afkār Sharḥ al-Manār* MS. (No. 1721) in the Library of the India Office. No other copy of this work appears to have been recorded.[266]
* *Page 97, 1.1* *A.A.*, pp. 145-48.
* *Page 97, 1.5* *Lāmiyyat al-'Ajam* is an Arabic composition by a Persian poet and scholar, Fakhr al-Kuttāb Abū Ismā'īl Ḥusayn bin 'Alī bin Muḥammad Tughrā'ī Isfahānī (killed sometime between 513/1119-20 and 518/1124-25) in

262. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. I, p. 140.
263. Safa, Vol. III, p. 243.
264. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
265. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, p. 208.
266. *A.M.I.O.*, Vol. II, p. 284.

imitation of a similar ode – *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* – of the fierce and irascible desert poet Shanfarā al-Azdī.[267] Despite some similarities, Ṭughrā'ī's poem does not have the literary merit of his predecessor's but still enjoys the reputation of a pre-eminent piece of art.[268].

* *Page 98, 1.9* Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī, the nephew of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, was also a personal attendant of his. He enjoyed the same amount of confidence with Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn as did Iqbāl *Khādim,* with Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'. The looking after of the day-to-day affairs of the hospice was also his responsibility.[269] Seeing the Shaykh on his deathbed, he implored him to nominate his successor lest the order should discontinue altogether. With due regard to his sincerity, the Shaykh asked him to bring him the names of some suitable candidates. Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn prepared three separate lists and submitted them to the Shaykh for his perusal. Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn glanced through these lists and remarked: 'Zayn al-Dīn . Ask them to take care of their own faith, let alone the carrying of the burden of others!' And he willed that all the material remnants of his *Pīr* be interred with him in the grave. His will was carried out and the spiritual robe, staff, rosary, bowl and the wooden sandals that he had inherited from Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, were buried with him.[270]

* *Page 98, 1.1* *A.A.*, p. 149.

* *Page 98, 1.3* *K.M.*, pp. 9, 159, 287, 289.

* *Page 98, 1.3* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 135, No. 229.

* *Page 98, 1.7* *A.A.*, pp. 164-67.

* *Page 98, 1.18* *Tamhīdāt*[271] by 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Miyānjī al-Hamadānī (d. 525/1131) is one of the most important treatises on *Ṣūfī* doctrine before Ibn 'Arabī.[272] Some authors[273] have confused it with another equally important work of 'Ayn al-Quḍāt, called *Zubdat al-Ḥaqā'iq.*[274] *Tamihīdāt* is

267. Some modern authorities are skeptical about the ascription of the *Lamiyyat al-'Arab* to Shanfara; see Clement Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature* (Beirut 1966), p. 20.
268. For modern criticism of the poet, see R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge 1966 repr.), p. 326; Ignace Goldziher, *A short History of Classical Arabic Literature* tr. & ed., Joseph Desomogyi (Hildesheim-Germany 1966), p. 80; and H.A.R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature: An Introduction* (Oxford 1963), Paperback, p. 126.
269. *K.M.* p. 159.
270. *Ibid.*, p. 287. When Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn died, the relics like the robe and the prayer carpet that he had received from Shaykh Farid al-Dīn were also buried with him. See *S.A.*, p. 343.
271. Ed. 'Afīf 'Usayrān, Tehran, 1340 H.Sh.
272. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages* (Cambridge Massachusetts 1964), p. 150, note 15.
273. E.g. Safa, Vol. II, p. 940.
274. Raḥīm Farmanish, *Aḥwāl-o Āthār-i 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Miyānjī al-Hamadānī* (Tehran 1338 H.Sh.), pp. 107-10 118-25; also see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, p. 150, note 15.

divided into ten chapters, each called *Tamhīd*, wherein the author deals with different aspects of the *Ṣūfī* path in much the same way as he has done in his letters. The language is simple but interspersed with Persian and Arabic verses. Wherever the situation warrants he does not hesitate to have recourse to anecdotes and allegories, which in turn add to the absorbing nature of the book.

* *Page 98, l.19* The MS. of his *dīwān* called the *Nūr al-Yaqīn* is preserved in the British Museum.[275]

* *Page 98, l.20* *Mir'at al-'Ārifīn* by Mas'ūd-i Bak is a treatise in Persian, wherein a very clear and succinct exposition of the principles and doctrines of *Ṣūfism* is contained. The book consists of fourteen sections, each called *Kashf*, i.e. Revelation. Every *Kashf* is followed by a *Nukta* or Point, wherein the preceding *Kashf* has been further elaborated. The book starts with an introduction and ends with an epilogue. The style of the author is in many ways influenced by the writings of 'Ayn al-Quḍāt-i Hamadānī. A manuscript of this work, elegantly calligraphed, but not free from orthographic errors, is preserved in the India Office Library.[276]

* *Page 99, l.6* *A.A.*, p. 165; *Mir'at al-'Ārifīn*, ff. 194-194*b*.

* *Page 99, l.8* Qur'ān, 17: 86.

* *Page 99, l.9* Qur'ān, 17: 86.

* *Page 99, l.15* *A.A.*, p. 165; *Mir'at al-'Ārifīn*, ff. 197-98.

* *Page 99, l.18* Qur'ān, 18: 36.

* *Page 99, l.21* Cf. *Mir'at al-'Ārifīn*, ff. 197-98.

* *Page 100, l.2* *S.A.*, p. 194.

* *Page 100, l.9* For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II p. 80, No. 118.

* *Page 100, l.9* *G.A.*, f. 56.

* *Page 100, l.22* *A.A.*, p. 116.

* *Page 100, l.23* *S.A.*, p. 147.

275. Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum* (London 1881), Vol. II, p. 632.
276. Herman Ethe, Vol. I, p. 1027, MS. No. 1854.

* *Page 101, l.5* Cf. *S.A.*, p. 147.

* *Page 101, l.9* For his grave, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. IV, p. 12, No. 19.

* *Page 101, l.10* *G.A.*, f.56*b*.

* *Page 101, l.13* For his grave,see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 111, No. 185.

* *Page 101, l.14* *A.A.*, p. 116.

* *Page 101, l.16* *G.A.*, f. 68*b*.

* *Page 101, l.21* *G.A.*, f. 56*b*.

* *Page 102, l.4* *A.A.*, pp. 190-91.

* *Page 102, l.11* Maulānā Sirāj al-Dīn 'Uthmān, commonly called Akhī Sirāj, was the first *Sūfī* from Awadh, to join the company of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā'. Except for a short annual visit to Lakhnauti to see his mother, he would spend most of his time in the *Jamā'at Khāna* of his *Pīr*. When his name came up for consideration as a *Khalīfa*, the Shaykh was reluctant in view of his shallow knowledge. So, he had to start his education at a comparatively advanced age. Amīr Khurd who was his class-fellow informs us that he studied *Mīzān*, *Taṣrīf*[277] and other books on grammar under Maulānā Fakhr al-Dīn Zarrādī, who authored a book called *Taṣrīf-i 'Uthmānī* for this student of his. As for other books like *Kāfiyya*, *Mufaṣṣal*, *Qudūrī* and *Majma' al-Baḥrayn*, he studied them under the care of Maulānā Rukn al-Dīn Andpathī, who himself was an old student of Maulānā Zarrādī.[278] Meanwhile, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn also made him his *Khalīfa*, but he did not discontinue his education. Rather, he continued it under the direct supervision of the Shaykh himself. When scholars were being uprooted from Delhi, he set out for Lakhnauti and settled there.[279] After his death his mission was continued by his *Khalīfa*, Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn bin As'ad Lāhaurī Bengalī, who died at Pandua in 800/1397-98.[280]

* *Page 102, l.20* *Muqaddimat fī al-Naḥw* commonly called *Kāfiyya*, by Ibn Ḥājib Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Amar 'Uthmān bin 'Umar Mālikī (d. 646/1248-49) is a celebrated work on Arabic syntax.[281] This work he later versified and named *Wāfiyya*. As a rule, the metre of *rajaz* was used for the versification of prose

277. This book was first introduced in India by a Mâlikite scholar from Baghdad, during the days of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn. See *S.A.*, p. 267.

278. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

279. *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89; *A.A.*, pp. 86-87.

280. *A.A.*, pp. 140-41.

281. Safa, Vol. III, p. 288.

textbooks to facilitate the memorization of their contents.[282]

* *Page 103, 1.4* A.A., pp. 190-91.

* *Page 103, 1.11* A.A., p. 191.

* *Page 103, 1.13* Qur'ān, 18: 65.

* *Page 103: 1.13* A.A., p. 191.

* *Page 103, 1.15* *Iḥyā'*, Vol. I, p. 327.

* *Page 103, 1.16* An aphorism, ascribed to Abū al-Qāsim Naṣrābādī. See *Nafaḥāt*, p. 42. Also see *ibid.*, p. 386.

* *Page 103, 1.17* A.A., p. 191.

* *Page 104, 1.6* A frequently quoted ingenuine *Ḥadīth*. See *Ma'ārif*, Vol. II, p. 326.

* *Page 104, 1.19* G.A., f. 131*b*.

* *Page 104, 1.20* A.A., p. 205.

* *Page 105, 1.4* *Lama'āt*,[283] one of the best specimens of Persian literary prose, was written by Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289). According to Daulatshāh.[284] 'Irāqī was a disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī,[285] who later referred him to Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī[286] (d. 661/1262). The latter was so impressed by 'Irāqī's devotion and ascetic austerities that he not only gave him the hand of his daughter[287] but also nominated him as his *Khalīfa*.[288] This latter act of the Shaykh aroused the jealousy of 'Irāqī's colleagues. Thus, upon his master's death, the poet set out for the Hijaz, a coveted goal as it is of all the *Ṣūfīs*, whence he went to Asia Minor.[289] In those days Quniya was the abode of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū al-

282. Ignace Goldziher, p. 71.
283. Ed. H. Ritter (Bibliotheca Islamica Series XVI).
284. *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, p. 238.
285. H. Masse confuses Suhrawardī with 'Sharazūrī', see his article "Irākī", in *E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 1269, line 23.
286. According to some (e.g. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, p. 605, and Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, p. 108) 'Iraqi was a direct disciple of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā'. For reconciliation of this view with Daulatshāh's (note 275 above), see Safa, Vol. III, p. 573.
287. Jāmī, p. 602; Jamālī, p. 109.
288. Jamī, p. 602.
289. Referring to 'Irāqī's thirst for higher, gnostic knowledge, Jan Rypka (pp. 254-55) writes: 'It was for this reason that he ['Irāqī] prusued the holy shaykhs from India as far as Hijaz'. The statement is very confusing and is not borne out by any of the veritable authorities on the subject.

Ma'ālī Muḥammad bin Isḥāq bin Muḥammad al-Qūnawī, a distinguished scholar and reputed expounder of Ibn 'Arabī's ideas.[290] His lectures on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* were a great attraction for 'Irāqī who attended them regularly. It was during those days that he applied himself to the writing of his book, the *Lama'āt*, which was liked and appreciated by Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn also.[291]

In thought and content the book is an imitation of Ghazālī's *Sawāniḥ*, and is divided into 28 sections,[292] each section called *Lam'a* ('Flash'), wherein a truly mystical meaning of Love, the basic unity of Love, Lover and Beloved, and their ultimate merging in God, have been discussed.[293]

* *Page 105, 1.8* Jamālī, p. 181.

* *Page 105, 1.11* The *Maktūbāt*[294] or letters of 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Miyānjī al-Hamadānī (d. 525/1132) are written in a very simple, sweet and spontaneous fashion. Interspersing verses make them all the more readable and interesting. The way he dilates upon different mystical points in successive series of letters, and the absence of the names of the addressees, characterize them as the soliloquies of a heart overflowing with divine love, rather than conventional letters.

* *Page 105, 1.23* Jamālī, p. 184.

* *Page 106, 1.3* For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 63, No. 92.

* *Page 106, 1.5* *A.A.*, pp. 209-10.

* *Page 106, 1.16* *A.A.*, p. 210.

* *Page 107, 1.4* For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 135, No. 238.

* *Page 107, 1.6* For Sikandar Lōdī's tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 37, No. 49.

* *Page 107, 1.7* *A.A.*, pp. 209-10.

* *Page 107, 1.8* Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, also known as Sayyid Jalāl

290. For his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* entitled *Fukūk al-Fuṣūṣ*, see Bankipore, Vol. XIII, p. 60, MS. No. 873.
291. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 603.
292. According to Jamālī (p. 109), 'Irāqī wrote 28 *Lama'āt* in correspondance with the 28 *Fuṣūṣ* of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*. He is not right in his assumption, since the number of *Fuṣūṣ* in the said book is 27 and not 28, as supposed by him. See *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, ed. 'Abū al-A'la 'Afīfī, pp. 57-58.
293. For commentaries on the work see Safa, Vol. III, pp. 1197-98.
294. *Nāmahā-i 'Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī*, ed. 'Alī Naqī Munzawī and 'Afīf 'Usayrān, (2 vols., Tehran 1969-72).

Surkh and Sayyid Jalāl Buzurg, was a disciple of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Multānī. He came from Bukhara to Bhakkar, and after his marriage with the daughter of a local celebrity, Sayyid Badr al-Dīn by name, moved to Uch and settled there.[295] He was survived by two sons, Sayyid Aḥmad Buzurg and Sayyid Maḥmūd. His famous grandson, Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm Jahānīyān Jahāngasht, was the son of the latter, while Shaykh Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī under reference, traced his lineage to the former.[296]

* *Page 109, l.12.* Cf. p. 212.

* *Page 109, l.13* *A.A.*, (p. 212) reads: لا يعلمها الا هو او الرسول

* *Page 109, l.17* A.A., (p. 279) reads: عيسى الذى هو من اتباع محمد

* *Page 111, 1.2* *G.A.*, f. 145*b*.

* *Page 111, 1.7* Abū Isḥāq Nīsābūrī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'ī (Tehran n.d.), pp. 374-75.

* *Page 112, 1.3* *A.A.*, p. 214.

* *Page 112, 1.4* *Gulshan-i Rāz*[297] is a long poem running into about 1000 verses, composed by Shaykh Sa'd al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shabistarī Tabrīzī (d. 720/1320) in answer to fifteen versified questions on the doctrines of *Ṣūfīs* propounded by Amīr Sayyid Ḥusaynī,[298] and is considered to be 'one of the best manuals of *Ṣūfī* Theosophy which exist'.[299] It soon captured the imagination of *Ṣūfīs* and several commentaries on it were attempted,[300] *Mafātīḥ al-I'jāz fī Sharḥ Gulshan-i Rāz* of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Alī Lāhijī (completed in 877/1472-73) being one of the most outstanding and exhaustive ones.[301]

* *Page 112, 1.3* *A.A.*, p. 214.

* *Page 113, 1.11* *A.A.*, p. 215.

* *Page 113, 1.15* He was a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥakīm. Prior to his

295. *A.A.*, p. 60.
296. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
297. Printed serveral times in Iran, India and Afghanistan. It is also published as a part of Lahiji's aforementioned commentary; see *Mafātiḥ al-I'jāz fī Sharḥ Gulshan-i Rāz*, ed. Kaywān-i Samī'ī (Tehran, n.d.). It English translation by E.H. Whinfield was published in London in 1880.
298. *Nafahat*, pp. 605-606; Jamali, p. 110.
299. E.G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge 1964), Vol. II, p. 184.
300. Safa, Vol. III, p. 766.
301. For a list of commentaries, see Muḥammad 'Alī Tarbiyyat, *Dānishmandān-i Āzarbā'ijān*, pp. 336-38, quoted in Ṣafā, p. 766, note 1.

initiation at the hands of the Shaykh, his main occupation was teaching at the *Jāmi'* mosque of Delhi, but he would also spare some time for meditation. When over a long period he failed to attain his goal, he approached Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn and sought his advice. The Shaykh directed him to completely dissociate himself from books. So, except for the choicest few which he really prized, the rest of his books he disposed of in one way or another. But to his distress, his heart was still infected with dissatisfaction. He again approached the Shaykh but got the same advice. Consequently, with no alternative left, he made his way to the river and while tears were rolling down upon his cheeks, he washed all the contents off the dearest of his manuscripts also. With the last word, the last vestige of discomposure was also washed away from his heart and tranquility took over. Shaykh Qāsim Awadhī and Shaykh Muḥammad 'Īsā Jaunpūrī were two of his main disciples. Shaykh 'Īsā was hardly seven or eight years old when he enrolled as the disciple of Shaykh Fatḥ Allāh, who referred him to Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn for his grooming in traditional sciences. He studied Bazdawī under the Qāḍī, who is said to have written a commentary on that book especially for his sake. In his later years, Shaykh 'Īsā acquired great fame and became one of the most prominent saints of Jaunpur. He died in Jaunpur and was buried there.[302]

* *Page 113, 1.24* — *G.A.*, f. 154*b*. He died on 14 Muḥarram 944/23 June 1533. *A.A.*, p. 215.
* *Page 113, 1.25* — *A.A.*, p. 215.
* *Page 114, 1.7* — For his grave,see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 52, No. 66.
* *Page 114, 1.11* — *G.A.*, f. 155*b*.
* *Page 115, 1.3* — *G.A.*, ff. 154 *b*-155.
* *Page 119, 1.21* — *A.A.*, p. 218.
* *Page 120, 1.4* — *A.A.*, p. 219.
* *Page 120, 1.12* — For his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 128, No. 217.
* *Page 120, 1.17* — Qur'an, 50: 18.
* *Page 121, 1.21* — *A.A.*, p. 219.
* *Page 122, 1.4* — For his grave see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 73, No. 112.

302. *A.A.*, p. 163.

122, 1.13 Jamālī, p. 3.

* *Page 122, 1.25* While explaining his philosophy of Ego in a letter, dated 2 February 1924, Iqbal writes: 'My ideal of human personality – i.e. finite personality – is nowhere better expressed than in a Persian verse which an old Persian poet wrote on the Prophet:

موسی ز هوش رفت بیک جلوهٔ صفات

تو عین ذات می نگری در تبسمی

This is my ideal of the unshakableness of the individual Personality – even before the Infinite. In the whole range of Muslim literature there is not a verse like it, and these two lines enclose a whole infinitude of ideas. I do not know whether the poet was himself conscious of what he was saying, but it is not necessary to discover this for our purpose . . .'. *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, ed. & comp. B.A. Dar (Karachi 1967), pp. 2-3.

* *Page 123, 1.1* *A.A.*, p. 221.

* *Page 123, 1.11* See Khwāja Ni'mat Allāh, *The Tārikh-i Khān Jahānī* (Dacca 1960), Vol. 1, p. 225.

* *Page 123, 1.18* For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. III, p. 91, No. 145.

* *Page 123, 1.22* *A.A.*, p. 223.

* *Page 124, 1.3* He died in 942/1535-36. *A.A.*, p. 223.

* *Page 124, 1.7* See Qushayrī, p. 302; *Ṣūfī-nāma*, p. 85.

* *Page 124, 1.13* *G.A.*, f. 157*b*.

* *Page 126, 1.3* *A.A.*, p. 228; *G.A.*, f. 177.

* *Page 126, 1.16* For the tomb of Humāyūn, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 117, No. 160.

* *Page 127, 1.5* *A.A.*, p. 228.

* *Page 127, 1.6* Qur'ān, 67: 24.

* *Page 127, 1.7* *A.A.*, p. 228.

* *Page 127, 1.7* *A.A.*, (p. 228) reads: فیفرق بین الحق و الباطل

* *Page 127, 1.10* Qur'an, 6: 62.

* *Page 127, 1.11* *A.A.*, p. 228.

- *Page 127, 1.13* A.A., (p. 228) reads: وانا الیم لاشد شوقا Cf. *Ṣūfī-nāma*, p. 141.
- *Page 127, 1.14* A.A., p. 228.
- *Page 127, 1.18* A.A., p. 229.
- *Page 128, 1.3* A.A., p. 229.
- *Page 128, 1.11* A.A., pp. 229-30.
- *Page 128, 1.14* Qur'ān, 4: 59.
- *Page 128, 1.18* A.A., pp. 203-05.
- *Page 129, 1.21* A.A., (p. 204) reads: بخاندان پیمبر
- *Page 129, 1.22* A.A., (p. 204) reads: این چه فراتست این چه وقت
- *Page 129, 1.25* For a description of the Qadamgāh, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 212, p. 349.
- *Page 131, 1.14* A.A., (p. 243): سید حسنی است
- *Page 131, 1.19* A.A., p. 243.
- *Page 132, 1.4* A.A., p. 243.
- *Page 132, 1.6* See *Zubda*, pp. 101-102.
- *Page 132, 1.18* A.A., (p. 245) reads: حسنی است سید
- *Page 133, 1.5* *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*[303] by Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1248) is the largest and most encyclopaedic of his works, running into 560 chapters, each chapter divided in several sections. The author started writing this book as a result of a divine revelation which overtook him during the circumambulation of the Holy Ka'ba. It is celebrated for the exposition of the principles of metaphysics, the various sacred sciences and the author's own spiritual experiences and is a veritable compendium of the esoteric sciences in Islam, surpassing in scope and depth anything of its kind that had been composed before or since.[304]
- *Page 133, 1.5* One of the greatest mystics of Islam,[305] the most prolific

303. Printed in Cairo in 1329/1911.
304. *Three Muslim Sages*, p. 98.
305. *E.I.*, s.v. 'Ibn 'Arabī'.

of all the *Ṣūfī* writers,[306] and according to some, the best of the *Ṣūfī* poets in the Arabic language[307] after 'Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ[308] (576-632/1181-1234), Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Muḥammad bin al-'Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'ī, was born in 560/1165 at Murcia in southern Spain. After the completion of his formal education, he embarked upon extensive travelling during which he came across many renowned saints and scholars including the famous Ibn Rushd[309] (520-95/1126-98). In 595/1198 he left his home town, Murcia, for ever and set out for the Islamic Orient, which again he traversed very widely before finally settling down in Damascus in 621/1223. By that time his fame had spread all over the Islamic world and almost every convent and seminary was resounding with the vast and complex system of doctrines propounded by him in his various tracts and treatises. His ideas have been debated for centuries, and are still studied by the scholars. He died in 638/1248 in Damascus and was buried there.[310]

* *Page 133, 1.6* *Mutawwal* is the more elaborate (as compared to *Mukhtasar*, literally 'concise', by the same author) of the two commentaries written by Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd bin Fakhr al-Dīn 'Umar Taftāzānī (d. 792/1389-90) on Khaṭīb Qazwīnī's (d. 739/1338-39) *Talkhīṣ-i Miftāḥ*[312] which itself is a condensation of the third part of *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*, of Sakkākī Khwāraznū[312] (d. 626/1229). The work deals with rhetoric and literary style, and occupies a very prominent position among the commentaries on *Talkhīṣ-i Miftāḥ*.[313]

* *Page 133, 1.11* *A.A.*, p. 246. According to *G.A.* (f. 176*b*) his tomb was at Daulatabad in the Deccan.

* *Page 133, 1.13* *A.A.*, p. 246.

* *Page 133, 1.25* *A.A.*, p. 247.

* *Page 134, 1.7* *A.A.*, p. 247.

* *Page 134, 1.15* *A.A.*, p. 248.

306. *Ibid.*: for his works see Osman Yahia, *Historie et classification de Loeuvre d Ibn Arabi* (2 vols., Damas 1964).
307. Besides his *Dīwān (Bulaq, 1271/1885) Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* (tr., Reynold A. Nicholson, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol. XX, London 1911) is another of his poetipal compositions containing his mystical odes.
308. *Three Muslim Sages*, p. 100.
309. For his life, see L. Gauthiar, *Ibn Rochd (Averroes)* (Paris 1948); Majid Fakhri, *Ibn Rushd* (Beirut, n.d.); and *E.I.*, s.v. 'Ibn Rushd'.
310. For detailed discussion his life and doctrines, see Nasr, pp. 83-121, Henry Corbin *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn Arabi*, tr., Ralph Manheim (Princeton 1969); A.E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi* (Cambridge 1939). 1939).
311. Ṣafā, Vol. III, p. 295.
312. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
313. *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 394.

* *Page 135, l.1* A.A., p. 249.

* *Page 135, l.10* Miyān Qāḍī Khān bin Yūsuf Nāṣiḥī Ẓafarābādī was a senior disciple of Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭāhir. Emperor Humāyūn had so great a regard for him that once he sent a white paper with the seals, necessary for the completion of an imperial decree, and desired him to write for himself as much of land and wealth as he would like to have. The Shaykh flatly refused. The paper was then taken to his eldest son, 'Abd Allāh, and the same request was repeated. He too spurned the offer and remarked that it was not worthy of a son to go against the decision of his father. Miyān Qāḍī Khān died on 15 Ṣafar 970/14 October 1562, in Ẓafarabad, near Jaunpur, and was buried there.[314]

* *Page 136, l.8* For Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz's tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 63., No. 107.

* *Page 136, l.11* ذرۂ ناچیز is equivalent to 976/1568-69. According to some, he died in that year. See *G.A.*, f. 199*b*.

* *Page 136, l.12* Qur'ān, 50: 31.

* *Page 136, l.20* Abū Bakr Dulaf bin Jahdar al-Shiblī was born and bred in Baghdad, though his family traced its origin from Usrushana, in Transoxiana. He performed the ritual of contrition in the assembly (*majlis*) of Khayr al-Nassāj and owed his subsequent spiritual training to Junayd of Baghdad. He was a prominent saint and a distinguished scholar of his time, and followed the Mālikite school in matters of jurisprudence. He died at the age of 87, in 334/946, and was buried in the Khayzuran cemetry of Baghdad.[315]

* *Page 138, l.19* Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār Nīshāpūrī (d. 627/1229-30) is one of the three greatest imperial poets of Persian literature, the other two being Sanā'ī (d. 545/1150-51) and Rūmī (d. 672/1273). As many as 114 works are attributed to him but most of them are aprocryphal and now extinct. From amongst his genuine works *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* is the most famous.[316] His *Dīwān*[317] has also been published.

* *Page 139, l.10* *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*[318] is the most widely read work of Ibn 'Arabī (d. 560/1165); it consists of twenty-seven chapters, each named after some prophet representing a basic doctrine of Islamic esotericism. Ibn 'Arabī

314. *A.A.*, pp. 226-27.
315. Sulamī, pp. 337-38; Qushayrī, p. 71; Hujwīrī, pp. 195-97; Nicholson, pp. 155-56; 'Aṭṭār, p. 614-38.
316. *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr*, ed. Sayyid Ṣādiq Gauharīn (Tehran 1342 H.Sh.).
317. *Dīwān-i Ghazaliyyāt-o Qaṣā'id-i 'Aṭṭār*, ed. Taqī Tafaḍḍulī (Tehran n.d.).
318. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūs al-Ḥikam*, ed. Abū al-A'lā 'Afīfī (Cairo 1365/1946).

started this work after having a vision of the Prophet in 627/1229 in Damascus, but surely it was completed after ghe *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (composed in 629/1227), references to which are seen in this book. The book has been translated into various European languages.[319]

* *Page 140, 1.14* *A.A.*, p. 278.

* *Page 141, 1.4* *A.A.*, pp. 281-82.

* *Page 141, 1.22* *G.A.*, f. 166.

* *Page 142, 1.6* *A.A.*, p. 224.

* *Page 142, 1.11* He enjoyed very cordial relations with Shaykh Amān Pānīpatī, see *A.A.*, p. 235.

* *Page 144, 1.12* A stone inscription written in his hand is preserved in the Delhi Fort Museum. See *L.M. & H.M.*, Vol. II, p. 82, No. 12.

* *Page 144, l. 23* See *supra*, p. 8, fn. 26.

* *Page 145, 1.13* *A.A.*, pp. 235-41; 291-301.

* *Page 145, 1.14* I.e., Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī.

* *Page 146, 1.11* *A.A.*, p. 298. According to Jami the quatrain belongs to Khwāja Ḥasan Dihlawī. See *Nafaḥāt*, p. 611.

* *Page 146, 1.19* *A.A.*, p. 292.

* *Page 146, 1.20* *A.A.*, p. 297.

* *Page 147, 1.9* *A.A.*, p. 292.

* *Page 147, 1.11* *A.A.*, p. 292.

* *Page 147, 1.15* *A.A.*, p. 293.

* *Page 147, 1.18* *A.A.*, p. 294.

* *Page 147, 1.21* *A.A.*, p. 294.

* *Page 147, 1.23* *A.A.*, p. 295.

319. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

* *Page 150, l.4* *Sufar al-Sa'ādat,* also known as *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm,* is a large collection of *Ḥadīth* relating to the life, character and teachings of the Prophet,[320] compiled by Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī al-Lughawī al-Qurayshī al-Tamīmī al-Bakrī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 817/1414), a descendant of Shaykh Abū Isḥāq Kazirūnī[321] and author of the famous *al-Qamūs.* Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (d. 1052/1642) wrote an exhaustive commentary on this work, which was completed in 1016/1607. A copy of the work transcribed and collated by the commentator himself is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Patna.[322] The book has been published several times.[323]

* *Page 150, l.4* *Miskhāt al-Maṣābīḥ*[324] by Walī al-Dīn bin Muḥammad bin 'Abd 'Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī is mainly an adaptation of Abū Muḥammad bin Ḥusayn bin Mas'ūd bin Muḥammad al-Farrā' al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna.* Traditions concerning almost every aspect of life are contained in Khaṭīb's work, but the emphasis is on the ones having edification value.[325] Mention of long chains of transmitters' names is also scrupulously avoided. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī wrote two commentaries on this work: *Lama'āt al-Tanqīh fī Sharḥ il-Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*[326] in Arabic, and the *Ashi''at al-Lama'āt fī Sharḥ il-Mishkāt*[327] in Persian. Both these commentaries became popular for their skilful exposition of the subtle and abstruse points contained in the original work.

* *Page 150, l.12* In this tract entitled *Tawṣīl al-Murīd ila al-Murād ba bayān al-Aḥzāb wa al-Aurād*[328] the author apart from describing the rules for the recitation of litanies, attempts to bring about reconciliation between the views of the *Ṣūfīs* and the *Muḥaddithīn,* on the subject.

* *Page 150, l.23* According to Hujwīrī it is a *Ḥadīth.* See *Kashf al-Mahjūb,* p. 257; Nicholson, p. 579.

* *Page 151, l.7* *Tasliyat al-Maṣāb li-nayl al-Ajr wa'l-Thawāb.* In this treatise the Shaykh emphasizes the importance of patience in the face of misfortunes and calamities and exhorts his readers to tread the path of submission and resig-

320. Bankipore, Vol. XIV, p. 45.
321. *Ibid.*
322. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
323. For different edition see, Khalīq Ahmad Nizāmī, *Ḥayat-i Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī* (Delhi 1953), p. 174.
324. Published from Bombay in 1282. It has twice been translated into English; Eng. tr., A.N. Mathew (2 vols, Calcutta, 1809-10); and Engl. Tr., James Robson, (4 vols., Lahore, 1953-65).
325. Ignace Goldziher, *Muslim Studies (Muhammedische Studien),* tr. C.R. Berger and S.M. Stern, ed. S.M. Stern (London 1971), Vol. I, p. 248.
326. Text remains unpublished. Introductory portion was print4d with the text of the *Mishkat.* See Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, p. 167.
327. Printed in four volumes by Nawalkishore. For various MSS. of the work, including the one with the author's autograph in Habib Ganj Collection of the Muslim University, Aligarh, see Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī, p. 167.

nation to the divine will. An autographed copy of the author is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Patna.

* *Page 151, 1.12* Qur'ān, 28: 69.

* *Page 152, 1.13* *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Isḥāq al-Kalābādhī al-Bukhārī (d. 330/990) is one of the most important Arabic works of reference on *Sufism.* Its manuscripts are fairly common, but the one (No. 1218) preserved in the Library of the India Office was made from a copy of the book autographed by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī (d. 1052/1646).[330] The text was published in Cairo in 1933-34, and a translation, by A.J. Arberry, at Cambridge in 1935.

Within a century of Kalābādhī's death, Abu Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl bin 'Abd Allāh Mustamallī Bukhārī (d. 434/1042-43) wrote a very exhaustive summary – *Sharḥ-i Ta'arruf dar 'Ilm-i Taṣawwuf,* which was lithographed in Lucknow in 1912. A condensation of Mustammalī's *Sharḥ,* prepared in 710/1313 by some anonymous scholar, has been published from Tehran in recent years.[331]

* *Page 153, 1.7* For the tomb of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith, see *L.M. & H.M.,* Vol. III, p. 70, No. 108.

* *Page 153, 1.11* *A.A.,* p. 291.

* *Page 154, 1.5* Qur'an, 2: 187.

* *Page 154, 1.8* *Waqi'āt-i,Mushtāqī,* British Museum MS. Add 11633, f. 20.

* *Page 155, 1.3* *A.A.,* p. 228.

* *Page 156, 1.6* Qur'ān, 6: 60.

* *Page 163, 1.3* For his tomb, see *L.M. & H.M.,* Vol. II, p. 237, No. 344.

* *Page 163, 1.10* See *Zubda,* pp. 34-35.

* *Page 163, 1.19* *Zubda,* p. 49.

* *Page 163, 1.24* *Zubda,* pp. 34-35.

* *Page 164, 1.1* Qur'ān, 16: 99.

* *Page 164, 1.1* Qur'ān, 51: 50.

328. Printed in Agra in 1299.
329. R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs,* p. 338.
330. *A.M.I.O.,* Vol. II, p. 99.
331. *Khulāṣa-i Sharḥ-i Ta'arruf,* ed. Aḥmad 'Alī Rijā'ī (Tehran 1349 H.Sh.).

- *Page 164, l.14* *Kanz*, Vol. III, p. 65. Also see *Nafaḥāt*, p. 34.
- *Page 164, l.19* Qur'ān, 50: 17.
- *Page 165, l.14* *Zubda*, p. 42.
- *Page 165, l.23* Qur'ān, 71: 17.
- *Page 165, l.24* Qur'ān, 24: 36.
- *Page 166, l.1* See *Kanz*, Vol. VIII, p. 352.
- *Page 166, l.5* *Zubda*, p. 44.
- *Page 166, l.9* *Zubda*, pp. 43-44.
- *Page 166, l.14* Qur'ān, 7: 180.
- *Page 166, l.15* Qur'ān, 12: 88.
- *Page 166, l.20* *Zubda*, p. 44.
- *Page 166, l.23* A saying attributed to Junayd. See Hujwīrī, p. 360.
- *Page 166, l.25* Qur'ān, 2: 21.
- *Page 167, l.1* *Zubda*, p. 46.
- *Page 167, l.14* *Zubda*, pp. 46-47.
- *Page 167, l.16* *Zubda*, p. 47.
- *Page 167, l.21* Qur'ān, 20: 74.
- *Page 168, l.5* *Zubda*, p. 48.
- *Page 168, l.7* Qur'ān, 42: 12.
- *Page 168, l.9* Qur'ān, 6: 103.
- *Page 168, l.21* *Zubda*, p. 54.
- *Page 169, l.9* *Zubda*, pp. 59-60.

- *Page 169, 1.14* *Zubda* (pp. 60-61) reads: خاصیت محبت سوختن غیر محبوب خود است

- *Page 170, 1.11* *Zubda*, p. 61.

- *Page 170, 1.12* Abū al-Fayḍ Thaubān bin Ibrāhīm commonly called Dhūn al-Nūn al-Miṣrī was one of the most prominent early mystics of Islam. He studied under various teachers including Imām Mālik bin Anas,[332] and appears to have travelled extensively in Arabia and Syria. In the realm of mysticism he was a disciple of Isrāfīl Maghribī,[333] and followed the path of blame and affliction.[334] He discarded the traditional symbolism for the expression of mystical truths and instead used the plain, intelligible language for the purpose.[335] This made him extremely unpopular among the orthodox. At one stage he was arrested on a charge of heresy and was produced before the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), who was deeply impressed by his preachings and released him honourably.[336] Dhūn al-Nūn died in 245/860.[337]

- *Page 170, 1.16* *Zubda*, pp. 51-52; *Sharḥ-i Rubā'īyāt*, p. 10.

- *Page 171, 1.5* *Sharḥ-i Rubā'īyāt*, p. 10.

- *Page 171, 1.9* *Sharḥ-i Rubā'īyāt* (p. 10) reads: قال العجز عن ادراک الادراک ادراک ...
  این اعلی عالم بالله است ... لیکن تمامی این سخن مبدء دیگر است ... دیگر ایضاح ظاهر ...

- *Page 171, 1.14* *Sharḥ-i Rubā'īyāt* (p. 10) reads:
  در حیرتم که این همه نقش غریب چیست * بر لوح صورت آمد مشهود خاص و عام

- *Page 172, 1.9* *Sharḥ-i Rubā'īyāt*, p. 30.

- *Page 172, 1.21* *Iḥyā'*, Vol. I, p. 224; *Ṣūfī-nāma*, p. 87.

- *Page 172, 1.22* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, MS, f. 9.

- *Page 172, 1.25* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, MS, f. 11.

- *Page 173, 1.6* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, ff. 11-11*b*.

- *Page 173, 1.14* *Maktūbāt-i Khwājat Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 12*b*.

- *Page 173, 1.17* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 13.

- *Page 173, 1.19* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 14*b*.

332. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 315; *Nafaḥāt*, p. 32.
333. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 32.
334. Hujwīrī, pp. 124-25; Nicholson, p. 100.
335. *Nafaḥāt*, p. 33.
336. Ibn Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 316.
337. Sulamī, p. 16; Qushayrī, p. 26; *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, p. 70.

* *Page 173, l.24* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 14.
* *Page 174, l.3* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 14 b.
* *Page 174, l.11* Qur'ān, 3: 32.
* *Page 174, l.12* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 17.
* *Page 174, l.17* Qur'ān, 11: 115.
* *Page 174, l.18* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 18.
* *Page 174, l.19* *Iḥyā'*, Vol. I, p. 325; also see Hujwīrī, p. 11.
* *Page 175, l.6* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, ff. 18-18*b*.
* *Page 175, l.10* Qur'ān, 40: 16.
* *Page 175, l.13* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 19*b*.
* *Page 175, l.18* *Maktūbāt-i Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh*, ff. 23*b*-24.
* *Page 175, l.24* A similar aphorism is also attributed to Ibrāhīm Dihistānī, *Nafahat*, p. 218.
* *Page 176, l.11* *Iḥyā'*, Vol. III, p. 74. Also see Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Aḥādith-i Mathnawī* (Tehran 1347 H. Sh. repr.), pp. 20-21.
* *Page 177, l.1* *Mathnawī-i Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 178.
* *Page 177, l.7* *Mathnawī-i Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 180*b*.
* *Page 177, l.13* *Mathnawī-i Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 181*b*.
* *Page 181, l.20* Qur'ān, 105: 1.
* *Page 182, l.13* *Mathnawī-i Bāqī Bi'llāh*, f. 183.
* *Page 182, l.21* Qur'ān, 17: 102.
* *Page 183, l.14* *Sharḥ-i Rubā'īyāt*, pp. 40-41.
* *Page 183, l.16* See *Dīwān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiz Shīrazī*, ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī and Qāsim Ghanī (Tehran n.d.), p. 136.

* *Page 188, 1.18* *Maktūbāt-i Imām Rabbānī*, Vol. I, Letter 106. Also see Appendix II.

* *Page 189, 1.10* Qur'ān, 93:12.

* *Page 191, 1.6* *Iḥyā'*, Vol. III, p. 55.

* *Page 191, 1.10* Qur'ān, 20:9.

* *Page 191, 1.11* Qur'ān, 25:8.

* *Page 193, 1.10* *Zubda*, p. 87.

APPENDIX I

The *Ṭabaqāt-i Shāhjahānī**

Ṭabaqa I

Tīmūr (770-807/1369-1405)

(i) The *Sayyids* and the *Ṣūfīs*

Sayyid Amīr Kalāl, f. 15.
Amīr Burhān, f. 15b.
Amīr Shāh and Amīr 'Umar, f. 16.
Maulānā 'Arif Dīg-garānī, f. 16b.
Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Kalāl, f. 17.
Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshbandī, f. 18.
Khwāja 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, f. 19b.
Maulānā Jalālal-Dīn Muḥammad Marghābī, f. 20.
Maulānā Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tā'ibādī, f. 21.
Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, f. 22b.
Bābā Shankū, f. 22b.
Makhdūm Jahāniyān Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, f. 23.
Shaykh Imām al-Dīn Abdāl, f. 23b.
Badī' al-Dīn Shāh Madār, f. 24.
Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Aukānī, f. 24b.
Bābā Maḥmūd Ṭūsī, f. 24b.
Shaykh Muḥammad Shāh Farāhī, f. 25b.
Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Khalwatī, f.25b.
Maulānā Ẓahīr al-Dīn Khalwatī, f.26.
Shaykh 'Alā' al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn, f. 26.
Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥakīm, f. 26b.
Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Shīr Sawār, f. 27b.
Shaykh Qiwām al-Dīn, f. 28.
Qaḍī 'Abd al-Muqtadir bin Qāḍī Rukn al-Dīn Kindī, f. 28.
Mas'ūd Bak, f. 28.
Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn Sūkhta, f. 29.

* British Museum MS. No. Or 1673.

(ii) The Scholars and the Physicians

Maulānā Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, f. 29.
Sayyid Burhan al-Dīn Ashraf, f. 30b.
Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, f. 30b.
Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Birr, f. 30b.
Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shāfi'ī, f. 31.
Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ḥanafī, f. 31.
Maulānā Ḥamīd al-Dīn Shāshī al-Ḥanafī, f. 31.
Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn al-Shāmī, f. 31b.
Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn, f. 31b.
Maulānā Khwājagī, f. 31b.
Maulānā Aḥmad Thānēsarī, f. 31.
Sayyid Yūsuf bin Sayyid Jamāl Ḥasanī, f. 32b.
Maulānā 'Abd Allāh bin Maulānā Lisān al-Dīn Muḥammad, f. 33.
Maulānā Niẓam al-Dīn Shāmī, f. 33.
Qāḍi Quṭb al-Dīn bin 'Abd Allāh al-Imāmī, f. 33b.
Maulānā Ṣafi al-Dīn Khattalānī, f. 33b.
Maulānā Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭārimī, f. 33b.
Khwāja 'Alī Tabrīzī, f. 34.
Maulānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh Kirmānī, f. 34.

(iii) The Poets

Shaykh Kamāl Khujandī, f. 34b.
Khwaja Ḥāfiz Shīrazī, f. 36.
Khwaja 'Imād Faqīh, f. 37b.
Khwaja Salmān Sāwijī, f. 38.
Nāṣir Bukhārī, f. 39.
Maulana Jalāl Ṭabīb, f. 40.
Maulānā Sharaf al-Dīn, f. 40b.
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Maulānā 'Alī Badr, f. 41b.
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APPENDIX II

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دفتر اول

مکتوب صد و ششم

به محمد صادق کشمیری صدور یافته در بیان آنکه محبت اینطائفه که متفرع
بر معرفت ایشان است از اجل نعم خداوندیست جلشانه

مکتوب مرغوب که منبی از فرط محبت و کمال وداد بود وصول یافت لله سبحانه الحمد والمنة علی ذلک

محبت این طائفه که متفرع بر معرفت است از اجل نعم خداوندیست جل سلطانه تا کدام صاحب دولت را باین نعمت مشرف سازند ـ شیخ الاسلام هروی میفرماید : الهی چیست اینکه دوستان خود را کردی که هر که ایشان را شناخت ترا یافت و تا ترا نیافت ایشان را نشناخت ـ بغض این طائفه سم قاتل است و طعن ایشان موجب حرمان ابدی است ـ نجانا الله سبحانه و ایاکم هذاالابتلاء ـ شیخ الاسلام فرمود : الهی هر کرا خواهی بر اندازی او را با ما در اندازی ـ

بیت

بی عنایات حق و خاصان حق
گر ملک باشد سیاهستش ورق

این رجوع و انابت که حق سبحانه و تعالی بتجدید شما را کرامت فرموده است نعمت عظمی تصور فرمایند و از حضرت حق سبحانه استقامت بر آن طلبند ـ والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی والتزم متابعة المصطفی علیه و علی آله الصلوات والتسلیات ـ

دفتر اول

مکتوب صد و هفتم

نیز بمحمد صادق کشمیری صدور یافته در اجوبه و اسولهٔ چند که نوشته بود
که از آنجا بوی تعنت می آمد و این مکتوب مشتمل است بر فوائد ضروریه
که در ایمان این طائفه علیه نافع اند

حق سبحانه و تعالی بسعادت ایمان این طائفه علیه مستعد گرداناد و کتابتی که ارسال داشته بودند مشتمل بر اسولهٔ چند رسید ـ هر چند سوالیکه شائبهٔ تعنت و تعصب داشته باشد مستحق جواب نیست معذلک تنزل نموده در جواب اقدام می نماید ـ اگر یکی را نفع نکند شاید که دیگری را نافع آید ـ سوال اول آن بود ، سبب چیست که از اولیاء متقدمین کرامات و خوارق بسیار ظهور می گردید و از بزرگان این زمان کم ظاهر میشود ؟ اگر مقصود ازین سوال نفی بزرگان این وقت است بواسطهٔ قلت ظهور خوارق ازیشان چنانکه ظاهر از فحوای عبارت است فالعیاذ بالله سبحانه من تسویلات الشیطان ـ ظهور خوارق نه از ارکان ولایت است و نه از شرائط آن ، بخلاف معجزه مر نبی را علیه الصلوة والسلام که از شرائط مقام نبوت است لیکن ظهور خوارق از اولیاء الله شایع و ذایع است کم است که تخلف کند اما کثرت ظهور خوارق بر افضلیت دلالت ندارد ـ تفاضل آنجا باعتبار درجات قرب الهیست ، جل سلطانه ـ تواند بود که از ولی اقرب ظهور خوارق اقل باشد و از ابعد اکثر ـ خوارقی که از بعضی اولیای این امت بظهور آمده از اصحاب کرام رضوان الله تعالی علیهم اجمعین عشر عشیر آن بظهور نیامده با آنکه افضل اولیاء بمرتبهٔ ادنای صحابی نرسد ـ نظر بر ظهور خوارق از کوته نظریست و دلیلست بر قصور استعداد تقلیدی شایان قبول فیوض نبوت و ولایت جماعه اند که استعداد تقلیدی در ایشان غالب باشد بر قوت نظری ایشان ـ صدیق اکبر رضی الله تعالی عنه بواسطهٔ قوت استعداد تقلیدی در تصدیق نبی علیه و علی اله الصلوة والسلام أصلاً محتاج بلم نگشت و ابو جهل لعین بواسطهٔ قصور همین استعداد باوجود ظهور چندین آیات باهره و معجزات قاهره بدولت تصدیق نبوت مشرف نشد و حضرت حق سبحانه در شان این بی دولتان می فرماید : وان یروا کل آیة لا یومنوا بها حتی اذا جاؤک یجادلونک یقول الذین کفروا ان هذا الا اساطیر الاولین ـ با آنکه گوئیم که ظهور خوارق از اکثر متقدمین در طول عمر زیاده از پنج و شش خوارق نقل نه کرده اند ـ جنید که سید این طائفه است معلوم نیست که از وی ده خوارق نقل کرده باشند ـ و حضرت حق سبحانه و تعالی از حال

کلیم خود علی نبینا و علیه الصلوة والسلام چنین خبر داده است حیث قال عز و جل ولقد آتینا موسی تسع آیات بینات و از مشایخ این وقت از کجا معلوم شد که امثال این خوارق بظهور نمی آید بلکه اولیاءالله را چه متقدم و چه متاخر در هر ساعت ظهور خوارق است ، مدعی آنرا داند یا نداند ـ

مصرع .

خورشید نه مجرم ار کسی بینا نیست

سوال دوم آن بود که در کشف و شهود طالبان صادق القاء شیطان را دخل باشد یا نه ؟ اگر هست ، وضوح کیفیت کشف شیطانی چگونه است ؟ و اگر نیست ، سبب آنکه در امور ملهمه بعضی غلطها یافته میشود ، چیست ؟ جوابش اینست والله سبحانه اعلم بالصواب ـ هیچکس از القاء شیطانی محفوظ نیست ـ هر گاه که در انبیاء متصور باشد بلکه متحقق در اولیاء بطریق اولی خواهد بود ـ طالب صادق چه باشد غایت ما فی الباب الانبیا را علیهم الصلوات والتسلیمات بر آن القامتنبه می سازند و باطل را از حق جدا مینمایند ـ کریمهٔ فینسخ الله ما یلقی الشیطان ثم یحکم الله آیاته دال است بدینمعنی ، و در اولیاء این تنبیه لازم نیست که اومتابع نبی است ـ هر چه مخالف نبی خواهد یافت رد خواهد کرد ، و ابطل خواهد دانست ، اما در صورتیکه شریعت نبی ازان ساکت است ، وباثبات و نفی آن حکم نمیکند امتیاز حق از باطل بطریق قطعیت دسوار است . چه الهام ظنی است . لیکن درین عدم امتیاز هیچ قصوری بولایت راه نمی یابد ، چه اتیان شریعت و متابعت نبی متکفل نجات دارین است وامور مسکوت عنها زائد بر شریعت اند ، و ما مکلف بامور زائده نیستیم ـ باید دانست که غلط کشف منحصر بر القاء شیطانی نیست ـ بسا است که در متخیله احکام غیر صادقه صورتی پیدا کند که شیطان را در آنجا هیچ مدخلی نباشد ازین قبیل است که بعضی در منامات حضرت پیغمبر را علیه الصلوة والسلام می بینند ، و بعضی احکام را اخذ می کنند که فی الحقیقت خلاف آن احکام متحقق است درینصورت القاء شیطانی متصور نیست که مختار علما عدم تمثل شیطان است بصورت خیر البشر علیه و علی الـه الصلوة و السلام بهر صورتیکه باشد ـ پس درین صورت نیست الا تصرف متخیله که غیر واقع را واقع دانانیده است ـ سوال سیوم آن بود که چون تصرف کرامات و تاثیرات استدراج در نمایش برابر است مبتدی چگونه شناسد که این ولی صاحب کرامات است و این مدعی صاحب استدراج ؟ جوابش آنست ، والله سبحانه اعلم بالصواب ، که طالب مبتدی را درین تفرقه دلیل واضح است و آن وجدان صحیح اوست که اگر دل خود را در صحبت او بحق سبحانه و تعالی جمع خواهد یافت خواهد دانست که آن ولی صاحب کراماتست و اگر خلاف این معنی خواهد یافت معلوم خواهد کرد که او مدعی

صاحب استدراج است ـ اگر خفائی درینمعنی است عوام کالانعام راست نه طالبان را . و خفای عوام نزد خواص از حیز اعتبار ساقط است که ، منشای آن مرض قلبی است و غشاوهٔ بصری ـ چیز های بسیار بر عوام مخفی مانده که دانستن آنها از دانستن این تفرقه ضروری تر است و لنختم هذا المکتوب ببعض المعارف، التی تنفعک فی ازالة مثل هذه الشکوک و الشبهات بدانکه معنی تخلق باخلاق الله که در ولایت ماخوذ است آنست که حاصل شود مر اولیاء الله را صفاتیکه مناسب باشند مر صفات واجبی را ، تعالی ، لیکن آن مناسبت در اسم بود و مشارکت در عموم صفات نه در خواص معانی که آن محال است و مستلزم قلب حقایق در تحقیقات خواجه محمد پارسا قدس سره می فرماید در مقام بیان معنی تخلقوا باخلاق الله صفت دیگر ملک است و معنی ملک متصرف بود بر همه ـ چون روندهٔ راه بر نفس خود متصرف شود ، و او را مقهور تواند داشت ، و تصرف او در دلها نفاذ یابد بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد ـ صفت دیگر سمیع است و معنی سمیع شنواست ـ چون روندهٔ راه سخن حق را از هر کس که باشد بی گرانی قبول کند و اسرار غیبی و حقائق بگوش جان فهم کند بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد ـ صفت دیگر بصیر است و معنی بصیر بیناست ـ چون روندهٔ راه رابصر بصیرت او بینا شده باشد و بنور فراست همه عیوب خود بیند ، و کمال حال دیگران یعنی همه کس را به از خود بیند ، و نیز بصیری حق منظور نظر او شده باشد تا هر چه کند بر موجب پسندیدهٔ حق کند بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد ـ صفت دیگر محی است و معنی محی زنده کننده بود ـ چون روندهٔ راه باحیای سنت متروکه قیام نماید بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد ـ

صفت دیگر ممیت است و معنی ممیت میراننده بود ـ چون سالک بدعتهائی که بجای سنت گرفته اند وی منع آن بدعتها نماید بدین صفت موصوف شده باشد ، علی هذا القیاس ـ و عوام معنی تخلق را برنگ دیگر فهمیده اند ، ناچار در تیه ضلالت فرونشسته اند ـ خیال کرده اند که ولی را احیای جسدی درکار است و اشیای غیبی می باید که اکثر بروی منکشف شود ، وامثال اینها ـ وهو کما تری من الظنون الفاسدة ان بعض الظن اثم و ایضا خوارق منحصر در احیا و اماتت نیست ـ علوم و معارف الهامیه از اعظم آیات است و ارفع خوارق ، لهذا معجزهٔ قرآنی از سایر معجزات اقوی و ابقی آمد ـ چشم بگشایند که این همه علوم و معارف که در رنگ ابر نیسان میریزند از کجاست ، علوم باین همه کثرت بتمامها موافق علوم شرعیه اند سرموی مخالفت را گنجایش نیست ـ این خصوصیت علامت صحت علوم است ـ حضرت خواجهٔ ما قدس سره نوشته بودند که علوم شما همه صحیح است اما چه فائده که سخن حضرت خواجه بر شما حجت نیست هر چند خود را پیر پرست نامید . زیاده چه نوشته آید و

این اسولهٔ شما اولاً هر چند گران نمود اما چون باعث چندین علوم و معارف گشته و این همه سخن بتقریب آنها در گفت آمده است ؛ نیک است ـ

بیت

هیـچ زشتی نیـست کورا خوبئی همـراه نیست
زنگی شب رنـگ را دندان چودرو گوهر است

عجب کاریست که در مکتوب سابق اخلاص بسیار ظاهر ساخته بودید ، وسبب آن را ظهور دو واقعه پی در پی نموده ، نوشته بودید که اثر آن را در افاقت نیز یافت بحدیکه ندامت تمام از وضع سابق متحقق گشت ، و به توبه و انابت آورد ، و بتجدید ایمان مشرف ساخت ـ یک ماه نگذشته بود که تغیری درین وضع مفهوم گشت و برجوع قهقری بوضع سابق انتقال حاصل آمد ، و در صدد آن آمدید که آن دو واقعه را وجهی پیدا شود که بالقاء شیطانی منجر گردد و یا بغلط کشفی بکشد ، آن چه بود و این چیست ـ

بیت

بگـفـت فلانـی چه بد میـکـنـد
نه بامـن که با نفس خود میـکـنـد

والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی والتزم متابعة المصطفی علیه و علی اله الصلوات و التحیات و التسلیمات ـ

دفتر دوم

مکتوب بیست و دوم

بمولانا محمد صادق کشمیری صدور یافته ، در بیان شرافت یافتن بلدهٔ سربند بر اکثر بلاد بطفیل حضرت ایشان سلمه الله تعالی و مشاهده نمودن نوری که گردی از صفت و شان بوی راه نیافته در زمین سکنی خود ، و آن زمین بعد از چندگاه روضهٔ مقدسهٔ مخدومزادهٔ کلان خواجه محمد صادق قدس سره گشت

الحمدلله والسلام علی عباده الذین اصطفی بعنایة الله تعالی و سبحانه و بصدقة حبیبه تعالی علیه و علی اله الصلوة والسلام والتحیة والبرکة ـ بلدهٔ سرہند گوئیا زمین احیاے من است که برای من چاه عمیق تاریک را پر کرده صفهٔ بلند ساخته اند و اکثر بلاد و بقاع آنرا ارتفاع داده و نوری در آن زمین ودیعت گشته است که مقتبس از نور بی صفتی و بی کیفی است در رنگ نوری که از زمین مقدسهٔ بیت الله ساطع و لامع است ـ پیش از ارتحال فرزندی اعظمی مرحومی بچند ماه این نور را برین درویش ظاهر ساخته بودند و در زاویهٔ زمین سکنی فقیر آن را نشان داده ، نوری نمودند ساطع که گردی از صفت و شان بوی راه نیافته بود و از کیفیات منزه و مبرا ـ آرزوی آن شد که آن زمین مدفن من شود و آن نور بر سر قبر من لامع بود ـ این معنی را بفرزندی اعظمی که صاحب سرّ بود ظاهر ساختم و ازان نور و ازان آرزوی مطلع گردانیدم ـ اتفاقاً فرزندی مرحومی باین دولت سبقت کرد و در پردهٔ خاک دردریای آن نور مستغرق گشت

هنیئا لارباب النعیم نعیمها

وللعاشق المسکین مایتجرع

از شرافت این بلدهٔ معظمه است که مثل فرزندی اعظمی که از اکابر اولیاء الله است در آنجا آسوده است و بعد از مدتی ظاهر شد که آن نور مودع لمعه ایست از انوار قلبیهٔ این فقیر که ازینجا اقتباس نموده درآن زمین افروخته اند در رنگ آنکه چراغی از مشعله بر افروزند ـ قل من عندالله الله نور السموات والارض سبحان ربک رب العزة عما یصفون وسلام علی المرسلین والحمدلله رب العلمین

دفتر دوم

مکتوب بیست و هشتم

بمولانا محمد صادق کشمیری در جواب استفسار های او

بعد الحمد و الصلوة و تبلیغ الدعوات میر ساند مکتوب شریف رسید ـ چون متضمن احوال پسندیده بود ، موجب فرحت گشت ـ نوشته بودند که در ورائیت معامله بجائی رسیده است که حمل صفات بروی تعالی و تقدس بتکلف مینماید و ویرا سبحانه وراءهمه میداند ـ سعی نمایند که این حمل بتکلف هم میسر نشود و بحیرت صرف انجامد پرسیده بودند که در رشحات از بابا آبریز نقل کرده است که گفته چون حق سبحانه و تعالی بروز ازل گل آدم می سرشت من آب بر آن گل میریختم ، تاویل این چگونه باشد ـ بدانند که درخدمات طینة حضرت آدم علی نبینا وعلیه الصلوة والسلام چنانچه ملائکهٔ کرام را ، علی نبینا

وعلیهم الصلوة والسلام دخل داده بودند ، روح اورا قدس سره نیز دخل داده باشند ، و خدمت آبریزی باو سپرده و بعد از نشاء عنصری او بلکه بعد از کمال او باینمعنی اورا اطلاع داده باشند جائز است که حضرت حق سبحانه و تعالی ارواح مجرده را قدرتی بدهد که افعال اجسام صادر نماید ـ ازین قبیل است آنچه بعضی از کبرا از افعال شاقهٔ خود خبر داده اندکه پیش از وجود عنصری بقرون متطاوله صادر شده بودند ـ آن صدور افعال از ارواح مجردهٔ ایشان بوده و اطلاع برینمعنی ایشانرا بعد از وجود عنصری حاصل شده ـ جمعی را صدور این افعال در توهم تناسخ می اندازد وحاشا وکلا که بدنی دیگر باو تعلق گرفته باشد ـ روح مجردست که باقدار خداوندی جل سلطانه کار بدن میکند و ارباب زیغ را درضلالت می اندازد درینمقام مجال سخن بسیارست و تحقیقات غریبه فائض گشته ـ اگر توفیق یافت جائی ثبت خواهد نمود انشاء الله تعالی ، الآن وقت مساعدت ننمود ، و ایضاً پرسیده بودند که در رشحات مینویسد که چون خواجه علاءالدین قدس سره از مولانا نظام الدین خاموش ، گران خاطر شده خواستند که ازیشنان سلب نسبت کنند مولانا دراتوقت التجابروحانیت آنسرور آورد، علیه وعلی اله الصلوة والسلام و ازان حضرت علیه وعلی اله الصلوة والسلام بحضرت خواجه خطاب رسید ، که نظام الدین ازان ماست کسی را بروی مجال تصرف نباشد ، وجای دیگر در همین کتاب مینویسد که در پیری حضرت خواجه احرار قدس سره از مولانا سلب نسبت نمودند ـ مولانا میگفت که خواجه مارا پیر یافتند وهرچه داشتم بردند ، و درآخر کار مفلس گردانیدند ـ این چگونه بود که حضرت رسالت علیه وعلی اله الصلوة والسلام کسی را که از خود ساخته باشند و فرموده که کسی را بروی مجال تصرف نیست ، حضرت خواجه احرار قدس سره چگونه بروی تصرف کنند ؟ بدانند که حضرت خواجهٔ ما قدس سره این نقل رانمی پسندیدند و درسلب نسبت مولانا توقف داشتند و میفرمودند که مولانا عبدالرحمن و غیرایشان از مریدان مولانا سعدالدین کاشغری که مرید مولانا نظام الدین ست بسیارند و هیچ یکی باین نقل لب نگشاده است و بهردو قبول پیش نیامده ، مولانا فخر الدین علی از کجا نوشته باشد ؟ و اگر این خبر صدق میداشت بتواتر نقل میشد لتواتر الدواعی علی نقله ، و چون بتواتر منقول نگشت وبه خبر واحد قرار گرفت معلوم شد که در صدق آن تردست و بعضی از نقلهای دیگر که صاحب رشحات کرده است از صدق دورند ، و اهل این سلسلهٔ علیه دران نقلها ترددها دارند ، وهو سبحانه اعلم ـ و ایضاً حضرت خواجهٔ ما قدس سره میفرمودند که مفلس ساختن دلالت بر سلب ایمان دارد ـ اعاذناالله سبحانه منه ، واینمعنی تجویزنمودن بسیار مشکل است ربنا لا تزغ قلوبنا بعد اذ هدیتنا وهب لنا من لدنک رحمة انک انت الوهاب ـ

دفتر سوم
مکتوب سی و نهم

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الحمدلله وسلام علي عباده الذين اصطفى ـ علم اليقين نزد صوفيه عبارت از يقينى است که باستدلال از اثر بموثر حاصل میشود ، وچون این معنی اهل نظر و استدلال را نیز میسر است فرق درمیان علم یقین صوفیه و علم یقین ارباب معقول چه بود و علم یقین صوفیه چرا داخل کشف و شهود باشد و علم الیقین علما بکدام وجه از ضیق نظر و فکر نه برآید ـ باید دانست که در علم الیقین هر دو طائفه شهود و اثر لازم ست تا از آنجا پی بموثر برده شود که غیر مشهودست غاية مافي الباب ارتباطی که درمیان اثر وموثر حاصل است و سبب انتقال است از وجود اثر بوجود موثر ـ در علم الیقین صوفیه آن ارتباط نیزمشهود مکشوف ست و در علم الیقین اهل استدلال آن ارتباط نظری است که بفکر و دلیل محتاج است ـ پس ناچار انتقال از وجود اثر بوجود موثر طائفهٔ اولی را حدسی بلکه بدیهی باشد و طائفه ثانیه را این انتقال نظری و فکری بود ـ پس یقین طائفهٔ اولی داخل کشف و شهود باشد ، و یقین طائفهٔ ثانیه از مضیق استدلال نه بر آید ـ و اطلاق استدلال در علم یقین صوفیه مبنی بر ظاهر و صورت است که متضمن انتقال است از اثر بموثر وفی الحقیقت کشف و شهود است بخلاف علم الیقین علما که بحقیقت استدلالی است وچون این فرق دقیق بر اکثری پوشیده مانده است ناچار در مرتبهٔ حیرت مانده اند و جمعی ازینها از نازسائی خود زبان اعتراض را در از ساخته اند بر بعضی اعزه که علم الیقین صوفیه را تفسیر باستدلال از اثر بموثر کرده اند ـ کل ذلک لعدم الاطلاع علی حقیقة الامر و الله یحق الحق و هو یهدی السبیل والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی ـ

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